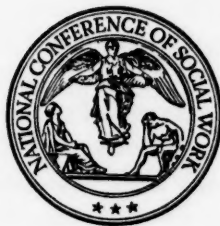


PROCEEDINGS OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF SOCIAL WORK

SELECTED PAPERS
SEVENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
APRIL 13-19, 1947



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FOREWORD

THIS VOLUME, the *Proceedings* of the Seventy-fourth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, held in San Francisco in April, 1947, is presented to the membership by the Executive Committee. Responsibility for the selection of the papers here published was vested in an editorial committee which included Gertrude Springer (Osterville, Massachusetts), chairman, Kenneth L. M. Pray (Philadelphia), Arlien Johnson (Los Angeles), Florence Sytz (New Orleans), and Howard R. Knight (Columbus), General Secretary of the Conference and Editor of the *Proceedings*. Miss Johnson and Miss Sytz being unable to serve, Maude Barrett (New York) and Paul L. Benjamin (Schenectady, New York) substituted for them.

Some 140 papers presented at the Conference were submitted to the committee for its consideration. From these, forty-eight were selected for publication. Selection was governed by time-tried criteria of historical importance, freshness of material, and current usefulness to the field of social work. Procedures, likewise time-tried, called for the reading and rating of each paper by each member of the committee, followed by a three-day discussion in which each paper was "on the table" to be weighed for its individual merit. So high was the quality of material submitted that it was only after much consideration and reconsideration that final decisions were reached. To the regret of the committee, the continuing scarcity of paper which limits the size of the present volume, dictated the omission of many papers of notable merit.

Since selection was based on the individual distinction of the papers submitted and not on the sectional organization of the Conference, it follows that some sections are more heavily represented than others in this volume. This does not indicate any lack of quality in the material presented in any section but only that some fields of social work held more timely and significant developments than others.

It must be borne in mind that since the National Conference of Social Work is an open forum for the free discussion of all matters related to social welfare, the papers here published represent only the views of their authors. Their inclusion does not imply either agreement or disagreement with those views either by the Conference or by the Editorial Committee.

The Editorial Committee was greatly aided in its undertaking by the section chairmen, who saw to it that papers were available promptly; by the staff of the Conference, which facilitated the routing of the papers for reading by members of the committee; by Mrs. W. Burton Swart, of Columbia University Press, who, as in preceding years, lent skilled assistance in the final preparation of papers for publication; and by Howard R. Knight, whose efficiency, experience, and unfailing good humor and tolerance lightened the burden of the committee at every point. To all of these the committee expresses its sincere appreciation.

GERTRUDE SPRINGER

Chairman, Editorial Committee

Osterville, Massachusetts

November 1, 1947

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SCIENCE AND SOCIAL WORK

By Arlien Johnson

THIS IS AN AGE of contrasts and contradictions.

Two years ago it was our hope that by world organization we could replace war with peace; that by council table discussions we could substitute cool, scientific reasoning for hot, uncontrollable emotion. Yet we are still at war. "Violence Flares in Palestine" is a newspaper headline almost daily. "Civil war continues in China," the radio reports. But not all violence and not all civil war is fought with gunpowder and hand grenades. Congress is bitterly divided on foreign policy, on our relationship to Russia, on how to handle the strife between the owners of wealth and the workers who help to produce wealth. Nor is the struggle limited to international and national affairs. Whether fought with firearms, arguments, or mass meetings, the war goes on.

The battles that continue in Palestine, India, Greece, and China are disturbing, but they do not strike fear into our hearts as directly as do the battles that are carried on in the halls of Congress or on the street corners of Los Angeles and New York. We fear this conflict among ourselves because we do not wholly understand it. The age that brought forth man's greatest discovery—atomic energy—surely such an age should produce tranquillity as well. Instead, the overt expressions of hostility that surround us create a pervasive sense of apprehension that threatens to overshadow the inspiring vistas of a new world order which was represented in the formation of the United Nations organization.

This paradox of organization and disorganization contending for supremacy is not new. In every century we have had revolutions, both material and spiritual, which shook the foundations of accustomed law and order but which gave birth to new forms of social organization through which man sought to express his social ideals. The global war of the twentieth century leaves us bewildered as divergent religious, political, and economic ideologies are thrown into contact and conflict; but the vision of what might result from

the fusion of these ideologies into "one world" surpasses the imagination.

The disorganization in the world at the present time, however, seems to be of unusually momentous portent. We live in an age of science. Accelerated research during the war led the physical sciences to push their investigations into the realms of the ultimate so that we stand in awe at the edge of revelation of the dynamics of the physical universe. It has been predicted that the next great advance will be in the biological sciences. There will still remain, however, the problem of harmonizing social facts as revealed by science with social and spiritual values, or the group ideals by which life is made worth living. The gulf between social facts and social values is so great that the scientists who wrote the basic formula on which the atomic bomb was calculated are alarmed at the use made of this knowledge and have formed an emergency committee to tell the world, in effect, that people must live together peaceably or face annihilation.

From every quarter we are warned to take heed or perish. In different words, but with the same essential meaning, the physical scientist, the social scientist, and the philosopher analyze the central problem of our time. The renowned scientist Albert Einstein warns, "Science has brought forth this danger [the atomic bomb] but the real danger is in the minds and hearts of men. . . . It is easier to denature plutonium than it is to denature the evil spirit of man. . . . A new type of thinking is essential if mankind is to survive and move to higher levels." ¹ Franz Alexander puts it this way: "New groups ideals are needed, a new hierarchy of social values adequate to the present phase of social and cultural development." ² And the philosopher Filmer S. C. Northrop, in his brilliant analysis of the present dilemma, declares,

All of the major demoralization of our time and all of its vital political, moral, religious, aesthetic, and other issues arise from the fact that . . . old traditional normative social theories which our humanities still convey have turned out to be inadequate either to merit the loyalties of men or to solve the problems of our time.³

¹ "Only Then Shall We Find Courage," leaflet distributed by Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, Princeton, N.J.

² Franz Alexander, *Our Age of Unreason* (New York: Lippincott, 1942), p. 315.

³ Filmer S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West* (New York: Macmillan, 1946), p. 258.

For when the scientific knowledge of these times has captured a man's mind, so that his intelligence tells him one thing and pushes him one way, and his emotions and habits attached to outmoded, incompatible scientific, philosophical, and theological doctrines push him another way, then he is a frustrated man, divided against himself. Such a man does not need to wait until after death to know what hell means.⁴

His conclusion is that the only cure for our present troubles is to create a new idea of the good which is consistent with current scientific empirical knowledge of man and nature.

If we accept the statements of these scholars that we have moved on to a new science and that what we now require is a new philosophy that will integrate the outer and the inner world in which we live, what can be done about it? One solution frequently suggested is that the social sciences must catch up with the natural sciences before we can reconcile the contrasts and contradictions of our age. Without doubt the social sciences have lagged behind the rapidly accelerating realm of knowledge now embraced in the natural sciences. I would raise the question, however, whether or not we are making use of knowledge which is readily available from the social sciences. There are certain well-established social facts which, if widely known and accepted, could help to resolve some of the confusion of this time.

Because of my conviction that the available knowledge about society is of utmost significance, I would like to present three basic assumptions which social work has utilized effectively. The first of these is that man's inherited human nature has changed so little in thousands of years that common human needs which can be stated, persist through the ages. The second well-authenticated fact is that cultures vary widely and change rapidly, thus frequently not meeting man's common human needs. And finally, I believe that the methods of science can be applied to the study of human relations as well as to the study of the atom bomb.

Before elaborating upon these statements, I must first explain how social work has discovered and utilized these and other findings from the social sciences.

The breaking down of the social fabric, the breaking down of authority because men no longer have faith in the old symbols, is a painful process. It was out of the needs of people during such periods of disorganization that social work first evolved as a service, apart

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 485.

from religion. Within the past thirty years social work has developed the distinctive hallmarks of a profession; and like the older professions it has begun to accumulate a body of knowledge and skills peculiar to the function it performs in society. That function has been well described by Kenneth Pray⁵ as a service to people—individuals, groups, and communities—to help them realize for themselves the most satisfying social relationships possible, and to find new meaningful relations for the fulfillment of their wants. To put it in another way, social work helps people to deal with social facts in terms of social values. As a profession it also has the task of helping to create social welfare services in new forms to meet the changing times. The social worker, for example, has the obligation to administer aid to the needy aged in such a way as to help the aged person to live as a useful member of society within the limitation of the program. Social workers, however, bearing witness to the deficiencies in such a program, urge health insurance with medical care, in order that the infirm aged person may be free from the haunting fear of untreated incapacity. It is this twofold obligation of social work which seems to me to make it significant. One obligation is the constant search for competence in the rendering of its service; the other obligation is to see its service in relation to the social and economic needs of the people whom it serves.

It was with the second of these obligations that modern social work originated. Concern for the effect of certain conditions upon people preceded the development of a discipline that could be widely practiced and communicated by education. In order to make clear the contribution from social work knowledge, three periods in the development of social work must be distinguished.

The first period arose out of the inadequacies and injustices that followed industrialization and made social reform and social experimentation inevitable. The rise of liberalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries meant an awakening of popular interest in the social control of the machines which produced sweatshops and slums. Great leaders whom we claim as pioneer social workers were among those who led the way in the revival of a social conscience in the United States. They sought to conquer poverty with social justice. These leaders founded settlements and helped to estab-

⁵ Kenneth L. M. Pray, "Social Work in a Revolutionary Age," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1946 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), pp. 3-17.

lish charity organization societies. They discovered, by observation and inquiry, the relationship between poverty and sickness, between juvenile delinquency and sordid environment. They helped to start movements and promoted legislation which would prevent these harmful effects.

The liberalism of the early twentieth century also held high hopes for the ideals of democracy and found expression in such new agencies as community centers in the public school buildings and recreation field houses in the public parks. The beginning of social services for all the people rather than for the underprivileged could be discerned. This was the period when "organized charity" was being transformed into "organized social work." It was the "decade of confidence" (1900-10) when the individual leadership of men and women whose minds and hearts were sensitive to the world around them was pre-eminent. They were inspired to believe, according to Edward T. Devine, that,

even ancient wrongs could be righted; that natural resources could be conserved and exploited for the common good; that the civil service could be reformed by competitive examination and a secure tenure for the competent; that international coöperation for the general good could be indefinitely extended; that education is the ultimate cure for everything that needs to be cured. This was the prevailing faith.⁶

Under such leadership our profession was founded. The work of these men and women was motivated by a deep conviction of the worth-whileness of what they were doing. They had to devise the measures that would meet the personal and social needs of people, and they learned by doing. Giving meaning and unity to their efforts was a philosophy as to the purpose of their activity in relation to the larger social problems of the period.

It was doubtless inevitable that with the passage of time the social institutions thus developed should be widely accepted and should spread from city to city. Attention was turned to refining the ways in which people were given service. Methods and techniques were discussed. This trend became very important in the 1920s, and marked a second period in the development of social work.

The soil in which social work found itself after the first World War, however, was of a different quality from that of the early part of the century. As one scholar describes the postwar period, "The

⁶ Edward T. Devine, *When Social Work Was Young* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), p. 5.

green fields shriveled in an afternoon. With the cynicism that came with post-war days the democratic liberalism of 1917 was thrown away like an empty whiskey-flask. Clever young men began to make merry over democracy."⁷ The psychiatrists tell us that when the external world is harsh and disillusioning we sometimes turn our attention inward, to an introspective examination of ourselves. This would seem to be what happened to social work in the decade following the first World War. The temper of the time was not conducive to idealism and social reform. This was a period when psychology and psychiatry, whose importance was discovered during the war, were providing new insight into human behavior. Aided by such knowledge, social workers gave their attention to the problems of individual behavior and to the methods and techniques of helping people in their personality development. It was also a period when communities were applying some of the efficient methods of war-time money raising to peacetime organization. New forms of social machinery for planning together began to appear.

The decade of the 1920s was a period of growing self-consciousness among the practitioners of social work. They made great strides in evolving a professional discipline. Literature analyzing this discipline grew in volume. The next step was recognition of their common bonds and the formation of professional associations. In addition to medical and psychiatric associations, the American Association of Social Workers was established in 1921. At the same time, the communication of knowledge and skills through education had been rapidly expanding, and about this time an association of professional schools was organized, now called the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

We might summarize by saying that the 1920s saw the emergence of a professional discipline in social work that undertook to develop competence in practitioners by applying findings from the social sciences, especially psychiatry, to the study of personality. This represented, in many ways, a narrowing of concern about the material with which social workers were engaged. On the whole, social workers were preoccupied with individual welfare and with methods of helping people to make adjustments to the social situations in which they found themselves. Since voluntary social work was pre-

⁷ Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1930), III, 412.

dominant in influence, social work in this form was practiced mostly in cities.

The third period includes the past fifteen years. A prolonged economic depression and five years of global war again changed the soil for professional growth. The technological changes that followed scientific advance and the greatly facilitated means of communication led to fundamental interdependence among people. While changes in social arrangements have lagged behind technological changes, we can discern a halting recognition that a good society can exist only when there is a minimum of security for all; when protection from the common hazards of dependent old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment is provided; and when the right to earn enough to live in decency and health is insured.

This emerging acceptance of a new concept of public welfare, and the conditions of widespread suffering and social disorganization which induced it, brought fast-moving demands for social services that left little time for professional introspection. Positions requiring the services of social workers doubled and almost tripled in number in a decade and a half. The balance of power in both funds and programs shifted from voluntary to official agencies. With the acceptance by government of social services as a permanent function has come a greatly expanded range of services and of personnel. No longer is social work an urban phenomenon and no longer is it limited to the "poor" people of the community. Some leaders in the field who had never lost the philosophy of the larger purpose of social work had long pointed out that social workers should be satisfied with "nothing less than a universal provision for a continuous service. And only the state can be both universal and continuous." Under these conditions the concept of individual adjustment to existing conditions is inadequate. Social work, while retaining its competence in helping the individual, has embraced the idea that only through mass welfare can the individual find proper conditions for growth and development.

The expansion in the volume of social services and their administration by governmental agencies, under conditions of rapid social change, have brought new responsibilities and new opportunities for social work. The heritage of its origin in the early part of the century when social experimentation was prevalent has now been combined with the technical competence of a professional discipline

which has been developed since the first World War. This professional discipline has been developed from the application of the findings of psychiatry and other social sciences and continues steadily to grow through constant efforts to utilize relevant findings from these sciences. Imperfect as is the result, I believe some of the basic assumptions from the social sciences which have enabled social workers to develop competence in helping people with problems of social relationships have vital meaning for society in the present period of world confusion.

The first of these assumptions based on the social sciences is that since man's inherited human nature has changed little in thousands of years, *common human needs persist*. The biologists, psychologists, and anthropologists have produced a wealth of facts that document this statement. All of life is dynamic. Conflicting forces driving man to growth and to resistance to change contend in everyone from birth. On the one hand we have great need to be dependent upon others; and on the other hand, we struggle to assert our independence and uniqueness as individuals.

Social workers have been impressed with the relevance of these facts as they have tried to help people develop satisfying personal relationships and socially useful lives. The need of the child for love and security finds its answer in a family group whose affectional ties are strong and continuous. Neither economic status, race, nor creed affect this common human need. The rich man's child, with every physical want met, can still become a neglected "problem child" if his parents do not have time or inclination to give him love and affection. An adult or even a family group which migrates from one community to another without ever having opportunity for the give-and-take of neighborhood life similarly may become a "problem" in society. Response from one's fellows, acceptance by them, and some interdependence of living are basic human needs.

One of the most convincing pieces of evidence of the truth of this statement is to be found in the research of the Harvard School of Business Administration. After twenty-five years of careful observation and experimentation, they report that productivity in industry depends far more upon the workers' satisfaction in coöperative activity in well-knit human groups than it does upon economic incentives. The success or failure of an individual is more closely related to his ability to form coöperative, social relationships with his

fellow workers than it is related to the degree of his technical skills.

The recognition of this basic human need for teamwork in mutual endeavor is the keystone upon which social group work has been developed within our generation. Its application of social skills in group relationships has, in turn, made a contribution to social work with individuals and with communities in their intergroup relationships.

Now let us examine the second aspect of common human needs, the need an individual has to be a person, to be respected for his individual worth, to be independent of others. While a child must have the love and security that come from strong and continuous affectional ties, he must also have an opportunity to detach himself eventually from excessive dependence upon such ties. This duty of the family to give the child support in his dependent needs while at the same time preparing him to become independent is a complex one that many modern families have failed to achieve. For while modern science and technology have produced conditions of living that remove permanently from the family many of its former economic, educational, and religious functions, old attitudes and ideas persist which prevent family life from acceptably taking new forms. We punish parents for the delinquency of their children but we do not know how to help them meet the needs of their children under modern conditions of living. We insist that the mores of the eighteenth century still apply to family organization in the twentieth century.

Social workers deal with the failures of the family to function effectively. They have learned to respect the individual in his striving to achieve self-expression in a complex environment. Findings from psychiatry have been useful in aiding social workers in the analysis of family problems and in helping its members to find release from frustrations so that they can function in a responsible manner. Social anthropologists also have findings that may help us understand and strengthen family life, but we have made limited application of such knowledge.

The common human striving for independence finds expression also in man's desire to learn, to grow, to create, and to enjoy the nonmaterial beauty of life. From childhood a person needs to have a task to do that is within his capacity, and he needs to have the opportunity to do it. Work that is repetitive and monotonous, long

hours of labor that yield a wage barely sufficient for existence, or, even more serious, inability to find a job—such situations produce frustrations that result in aggressive behavior, or in the opposite kind of behavior where a man ceases to struggle against odds and is willing to become completely dependent upon society. A nation that does not take account of the common, human need for independence and does not provide satisfying forms of expression can expect to produce propagandists who project upon society their personal hostilities bred of deprivation.

Truly, common human needs persist throughout the ages. One such need—man's need for dependence and for independence—has been well established. Social work has tested this knowledge by day-to-day observation and application in helping people with problems of social relationships, and has added the corollary that every individual has different potentialities for growth and development. These potentialities can be realized only as people have conditions conducive to such growth. Since personal and social growth are interdependent, opportunities for both must be provided. Acceptance of this point of view makes for tolerance, for willingness that everyone, regardless of color, religion, or customs, should have an opportunity to liberate his powers and engage in activities "that enlarge the meaning of life." Social workers learned early in their professional development that "happiness" cannot be given to another person like a physical possession. As John Dewey pointed out long ago, we can help others to find happiness only as we "foster conditions that widen the horizon of others and give them command of their own powers, so that they can find their happiness in their own fashion." Otherwise, he says, the prayer of a freeman would be to be left alone and "to be delivered, above all, from reformers and 'kind' people."⁸

What meaning do these conclusions have when applied to the larger social scene? It would seem that recognition of man's needs for dependence and independence would do away with the argument about freedom and security as if they were alternative choices of economic and political action. Freedom is necessary for that independence which is a mainspring of human conduct. It permits initiative, new experience, and creative thinking. But unlimited freedom brings self-destruction, of an individual or of a nation; for we

⁸ John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York: Holt, 1922), p. 294.

have seen that the child cannot grow to mature adulthood, the worker cannot be at his productive best, without dependence upon others. Coöperative activity in well-knit human groups is also a mainspring of human conduct. The lesson would seem to be clear. Security implies the fostering of conditions under which man can have opportunity to provide for his basic physical needs; at the same time he must have a degree of freedom for individual growth. Freedom and security are not opposites, they are parts of a whole.

There is a second assumption that social work has derived from the social sciences which gives insight into social relationships. In a sense it is the opposite of the first assumption which we have been considering. For whereas common human needs persist throughout the ages, *culture varies widely and changes rapidly*. Significant physical differences between people are few, while differences in customs are multiple in variety. The anthropologist and sociologist tell us that these differences in customs are "learned behavior." They have meaning and value for the group to which they belong, but they cannot be evaluated as "inferior" or "superior" except in terms of values which each group attaches to its own culture. Only by understanding the other person and his culture can we communicate intelligently with him.

When one understands another person one cannot hate him. One may disagree with the values held by the other person while at the same time appreciating why he holds those values. Race prejudice and cultural tensions would seem to stem from lack of understanding and fear of difference. It has been well said that "conflict grows fat on fear." Yet the knowledge now available from anthropology, psychology, and sociology about races and cultures, if understood and accepted rationally, could dissipate fear and discrimination, just as knowledge of the operation of natural laws has dissipated superstition and put in their proper place such phenomena as the rainbow and the eclipse of the sun.

Within the United States, so-called "minority groups" have been stereotyped. Certain behavior is expected of their members because they belong to a particular group. The studies of social scientists, on the contrary, reveal that within each group is a wide range of behavior, and that certain reactions are the result of occupational stratification, geographical segregation, and discriminatory treatment by the majority group. By such treatment of others the majority group

perpetuates its own emotional immaturity. Here is a needless tragedy in human relationships.

Their own observations, supported by this kind of knowledge from the social sciences, have led social workers to affirm the rights of all people to equal opportunities for education, for earning a living, and for participation in the life of the community. So deep seated is the prejudice against variation and so widespread is the value placed upon uniformity in the United States, however, that minority groups may live in only certain sections of a city, even where no segregation laws exist. This is, indeed, a sad reflection upon the age of science which holds in high esteem the findings of the physical sciences while denying the facts provided by the social sciences.

Philosophers and scientists have for some time been telling us that the phenomenally rapid changes in our technology which have resulted from new knowledge in the natural sciences would require corresponding changes in our social institutions and ideologies. The speed with which the technological changes have come leaves us uncertain how to adapt them to our uses. Perhaps the philosopher gives us a clue when he says that "successful organisms modify their environment. Those organisms are successful which modify their environments so as to assist each other."⁹ This principle prevails in the physical sciences where association between electrons and nuclei are characteristic of matter; and the principle prevails in the whole realm of animate nature where equilibrium is attained by the mutual coöperation of different species. What is the significance, then, of this principle for us? The problem would seem to be how to help people coöperate in modifying the environment so as to utilize modern technology for the support of our common human needs.

Modern technology places great emphasis upon production, and upon perfecting the machinery of production so that less and less manpower is required. Yet the realization of this goal destroys opportunities for men to work. Thus we are faced with the dilemma of man's inherent need for independent, creative work in an age when unemployment is his reward for our rapidly changing culture. Social workers are familiar with the aged person who can no longer find a place in industry although his whole interest in life has been centered in earning a living. Without work, such persons have no

⁹ Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), p. 296.

interests, their lives are barren, they become preoccupied with their physical ills, they seek without finding.

The weight given to material achievement in the United States is "learned behavior." If permitted, children would readily acquire new social values. The potential plenty in the world might be used, not only to give man creative work to do, but also to enable him to practice the art of living. An educator recounts how a substitute teacher took a fifth grade class in arithmetic. In an effort to discover where the class was in its work, he proposed this problem: "Frank and Bill were taking a hike one Saturday afternoon and about four o'clock they passed a bakery which had some doughnuts in the window bearing the sign 'thirty cents a dozen.' Frank had ten cents and Bill had a nickel, so they were able to buy half a dozen doughnuts. Now, how many doughnuts should Frank get and how many should Bill receive?" One child raised his hand to ask who was host and who was guest; another child asked who was hungrier. This went on until the seventh pupil suggested that the doughnuts be divided on the basis of the amount of money each boy had spent. This well illustrates that economic problems depend for solution upon the assumptions people hold regarding social life.

The lag between technology and the social values by which we measure what is worth while in life is a subject of much current concern and interest. As I have pointed out, scientists and philosophers alike tell us that we must discover a different scale of values appropriate to this age of science. The president of the University of Chicago, among others, declares that our only hope is in adult education by means of which people will begin to appreciate those values that come from the study of other cultures, art forms, and religious expressions. With this would come a tolerance for difference. World understanding would be mightily furthered. Human energy could also be turned, with social approval, toward all those human services that make for the enjoyment of life—teaching, healing, social service, and artistic expression in many forms.

May I venture here to express my faith in the contribution which social work might make toward bridging the gap between social facts and social values? A profession is in touch with the realities of existence and must constantly strive to utilize and enlarge those scientific findings that are relevant to its practice. A profession is close to the world of everyday life; the test of scientific knowledge

is how it works, when applied. Social work has for many years tried to further coöperation among people for the improvement of social and living conditions. Such devices as councils of social agencies and neighborhood councils have had as their purpose the coördination and improvement of community welfare activities. Only recently has much attention been given to the social process thus involved and to the analysis of methods by which associative activities are furthered. Mary Parker Follett's research applied to industry and the work of others has revealed how conflict can be resolved and coöperation made possible. Social work has dimly glimpsed the tremendous significance of social intergroup or community organization work as a service utilizing the same body of principles and skills that apply to helping individuals with their problems of social relationships. The urgency of the need for this service should inspire social workers to new efforts to define the content and method of community organization. This is a challenge equal in magnitude to that which motivated the founders of our profession when they led the way in the early twentieth century in combating the effects of industrialization. To enable people to "think together and evolve workable judgments" in the interests of the larger society is to help them to achieve a more abundant life, individually and collectively.

These two basic assumptions—that common human needs persist throughout the ages while cultures vary widely and change rapidly—are merely examples of the kind of knowledge that is available, and of which social work has made use in the development of a professional discipline. Such knowledge, if more generally understood, accepted, and applied, could do much to improve social relationships. Some of the contrasts and contradictions of our age would disappear if our learned behavior harmonized with the known empirical knowledge which science has provided. To be sure, the knowledge from the natural sciences has outstripped the knowledge from the social sciences. My plea is that, imperfect as the knowledge is, we make use of it and encourage its growth.

The final basic assumption is that the scientific habit of mind is applicable in human relationships. Any profession, by its *raison d'être*, is forced to use the scientific method of analysis and thought. What Whitehead calls the "stubborn, irreducible facts" of daily observation require that a person rendering a professional service measure his observations against all known empirical data. Social

work, a fledgling among the professions, has developed a distinctive method (social casework) of helping individuals which is generally recognized. Social work has also made progress in understanding and helping groups and communities to find release of energy and self-expression in achieving their objectives. The methods with groups is much less well developed than with individuals, but already we discern a body of knowledge and skills that are common in work with individuals, groups, and communities. The knowledge is incomplete; the methods are evolving. But consciously, social work has added to its own subject matter the findings from the social sciences to enlarge its theoretical base and to give support to a scientific approach to problems of human relationships. This calls for willingness to follow the "remorseless inevitableness" of the facts, as revealed by disciplined observation, and to apply the facts with a consideration for their meaning with respect to the welfare of the total person, or community.

It seems to me that this effort on the part of social workers to work intelligently at the problems of human relationships and to make their service of greatest usefulness inevitably brings them into the forefront of social change. They cannot, from first-hand knowledge, be aware of social injustice without making the facts known. Where the social institution, such as the economic order, prevents men willing and anxious to work from securing such opportunities, social work must bear witness to these conditions. It cannot keep silent when children are growing up without parental love and guidance. It must make known the necessity for minority groups to have opportunities to live without fear of unjust discrimination. Social work, if it follows the dictates of the scientific method, must advocate changes in our social institutions which will meet the changing times.

Any person or profession which tries to change the irrational feelings of people toward fellow human beings is not likely to become popular. Social work is one of those professions which will best serve its purpose if it keeps its integrity—the integrity of patiently, painstakingly working at the problems of social relationships and making its findings known to the wider public which must, in the last analysis, implement such findings if they are to have broad significance. If social work is to use the methods of science, it must accept the consequences. This means that it must be content with the integrity of its own practice. To seek popularity is to deny its birthright.

It is easier to accustom ourselves to traveling by airplanes that skim through the stratosphere than it is to change our attitude about having a person of another color live in the house next door, even though he be our equal in education and income. Attitudes are often wholly irrational—"prescientific thoughtways regarding our social relations," Lundberg calls them.¹⁰ Unless we can learn to apply to human society, the method of thinking that the modern natural sciences have applied to physical phenomena, we shall not make progress in closing the rift between the world of men and the physical universe, which together form the whole of reality. We have mistaken some of the technological developments for science. They are only man's misuse of basic scientific knowledge. The physical sciences form only one aspect of reality. The other aspect is the study of society, the world of human aspiration for self-expression, of man's unending search for "the good life" with his fellows. Until we apply the same method of scientific thought to both aspects of reality, the physical and the social, we shall not resolve the confusion and fear that surround us. When we do apply these methods of scientific thinking to human relationships, then—and only then—shall we realize that old but ever new hope—the hope of peace and order in the world.

¹⁰ George A. Lundberg, *Can Science Save Us?* (New York: Longmans, 1947), p. 13.

FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

By Enriques de Lozada

FIVE YEARS AGO, there came to Washington a sister-in-law of mine from Bolivia, a young woman of around twenty-five years, who was inspired with the idea of becoming a social worker. Her background was the typical, rather reactionary background of all upper-class Latin American families, and I was shocked by her decision to become a social worker. I said to myself, "Here is the rare case of a Latin American woman who wants to be of service, and she is going into social work. Why does she not choose some more practical, some more definite profession?" And I tried very hard to argue against her decision to become a social worker. I suggested that she become a doctor of medicine rather than a social worker. She insisted, however, and she went to Boston and became a social worker. That insistence and that decision opened my mind to the significance of the profession of social work.

Since that time I have traveled a long way toward understanding the significance of that profession, probably the youngest of all professions. May I mention too a very naïve observation that I have made since that incident? I have discovered that a profession that is much less than a hundred years old has already produced philosophers and statesmen. When I studied the thirties in the United States, I could not understand all that happened during that most important decade without knowing the work of a man named Harry Hopkins. He was a social worker, and I think all American policies, social and political, have been influenced by the approach of the social worker. I went on to think of the backwardness of the social sciences as compared with the physical sciences. And of course a great hope came to my mind. I saw that social workers, who are in direct contact with the problems of human relations, are of paramount significance for the future advancement of the social sciences.

If the social sciences cannot be brought into the laboratory and studied with the same scientific methods as exact sciences, as physical sciences, I think you are going to gather in the field that primary source material; that later on the universities and institutions of

learning will process it and evaluate it, and then we will solve one of the most fundamental problems of our times, the discrepancy between the advancement of physical sciences and the advancement of the social and moral sciences. It is curious that in this profession and only in this profession there is an area in which scientific knowledge and moral values merge. Therefore, I think that potentially social workers are the hope of the world.

I do not think it is merely by chance that in the United States the profession of the social worker has advanced farther than anywhere else. This country has less dogmatism in all phases of its life than any other that I know. For instance, you have two political parties, but if one analyzes their philosophies, it is difficult to distinguish between them. They have a purely pragmatic approach. I think that advantage of the American way of life has allowed the present development of the new profession of social work.

And now I come to "the foundations of peace," and I am more at home in that field. Since I was twenty-five, I have devoted myself to the study of international relations. I first approached these studies according to my tradition, the Latin tradition, the tradition of law, the juridical tradition. Therefore, I concentrated my studies in the field of international law. Then I came to this country, and because of the pragmatism of this country, I began to change my approach. I became much more of an economist. Neither of these approaches satisfied my eagerness to find the true foundations upon which a world can live at peace. Let us take, for instance, the political field. Of course we are aware more than ever today that there are political crises. Any one crisis may be solved or it may not. If it is solved, it may reappear. The solution of political crises does not guarantee permanent peace. It is only one layer of the foundation.

Let us assume that all the powers of the world come to a working agreement in the field of economic coöperation. But economics, too, is a very shifting thing. Now, let us take the juridical approach, to which I am traditionally attached. We have had two world organizations, the League, and now the United Nations. We have had a court, the World Court. True, the world has never worked out an international code, a set of rules. Let us assume that we could have that. It still would not be a rock bottom for the foundation of peace.

The rock bottom for the foundation of peace, in my mind, is the awareness of every individual all over the world that the world is

one, that it is interdependent. But that is an individual state of mind. It is a state of consciousness. It is not something that can spring up overnight. It is something that will come only through a long process of education. But we do not have time. Our normal process of education will come slowly. And mind you, if we had the notion of interdependence in our minds, we would also have another notion, a vivid notion in our consciousness, the notion of human solidarity. That notion of human solidarity would, I am sure, replace one of the worst obstacles for any world organization, one of the worst shibboleths, one of the worst dogmas, the dogma of sovereignty. Only if the people realize first that the world is interdependent and out of that conviction of interdependence comes a notion of human solidarity, only then will we reach the rock bottom for a foundation of peace. We will be able to build a set of rules. We will be able to plan and come to permanent agreements in the economic field, and by then, the political problems will have diminished so that their solution will be easy.

But all of this is pure speculation, pure generalization, and I will probably be criticized as an imaginative Latin who is just speaking in the air. No. Now I will come to brass tacks. I will show you the meaning of what I have learned in the United States, the substantiation in practical terms of what I have just said in general terms. First let me state the outstanding international problems of our days. This is no matter of opinion. These are truisms that we have to accept. They are axiomatic. First, the United States is the undisputed world leader. Secondly, the hundreds of millions of people who were dormant, the "backward" peoples, have awakened, and they want a better way of life, whether in China, in Latin America, or in the Middle East. Those are the two basic problems. There is a more pressing, more immediate problem, the problem of restoration of some degree of political and social normality. And that is a tough problem, because outside the Western Hemisphere, the world has been so profoundly damaged physically and morally that the burden for the restoration must fall to the world leaders. I would not speak here only of the United States, but of all the New World. For the solution of this problem the people of the United States have to take us in, we Latin Americans. Why? Because put together, North and South America, the New World is a synthesis of the Old World; we owe to that world what we have. Therefore, we have a

moral duty toward the Old World. You may think that it is pretentious that I, coming from a little Latin American country, should ask a share with the United States in that great undertaking, but I answer that if we or the other American republics are poor and backward in the fiscal and economic sense, we are the depository of certain traditions of the Old World, especially of the Latin world that you do not have. That is why we, the two halves of the New World, have the right and the duty to go into this great undertaking together.

Now, there are many undertakings that we have to study, as illustrations within the machinery that has been built, the machinery of the United Nations. Parenthetically, I want to point out that the machinery of the United Nations, like the machinery of the old League, is something born in the New World. After all, it is your own. It is Woodrow Wilson's and Franklin D. Roosevelt's. You created the blueprint and the machinery. There it is. Now you have to give it a soul, we have to give it a soul, and we have to give it a working impulse. Some will tell me, the cynics or the pessimists, that the machinery of the United Nations is weak, that it cannot cope with the problems. That is not true. I think one could not conceive a more perfect machinery. We may say that a third of the United Nations is purely advisory, that there is no power behind it. It is true, but there is moral power, and I am sure that moral power is real power. This machinery has tremendous flexibility and tremendous potentialities, and at this point I want to relate the profession of social work to the potentialities of the United Nations.

I know for certain that when President Roosevelt was planning the new machinery based on the experience of the old League, he included specialized agencies like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, like the Health Organization, like the Food and Agriculture Organization, as well as the Economic and Social Council and its many specialized commissions, such as the Social Commission, which did not exist in the old League. The most interesting thing that has been achieved since the end of the second World War is without doubt the experience of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Whatever its shortcomings may have been, there is no precedent in the history of international coöperation for what UNRRA has achieved, and UNRRA was fundamentally a social undertaking. I cannot conceive of its

success without the social worker; and this relation was so widely recognized that when UNRRA was dismantled, one of the few things that worried the people, the professional diplomats, and the politicians was that perhaps the social work that UNRRA had undertaken would not be continued. Moneys were allocated by the United Nations, however, and we are continuing the social work of UNRRA.

It has been said that the United Nations is not equipped to do actual work. One of the most important, immediate, urgent tasks of reconstruction is the rehabilitation of the children in the devastated areas. It is hard to think what will be the future of the world if these millions of children who have been victims, physically, morally, or psychologically, of the war are not in some way rescued. The United Nations, within its machinery, has created a special organization, not for advice but for action—the Children's Emergency Fund. This is to be more than an intergovernmental organization, for the organization of the Fund expects the coöperation and the contributions of individuals. This is a clean-cut case in which within the machinery of the United Nations there are possibilities of direct and positive action.

How could that be done if it were not for the social worker? But let me present an even more striking example of how we can solve political problems by social undertakings, by social action. After the fall of France in 1940, the United States Government established the special office called the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs. It was an emergency organization, the objective of which was to counteract the terrific inroads that nazism and fascism had made into the American republics—and that danger was not an academic danger, it was an actual danger. There were more than two million Germans and Italians who had direct allegiance to nazism and fascism. Therefore, there was a difficult political problem to solve. Time was short. A man was appointed who was not in any way a liberal, who had no special good will in South America, but rather the contrary: Nelson Rockefeller. He was, however, a gentleman, a man of action and imagination. I am proud to say that I was one of his advisers, and when we came to plan a program, we did not merely turn to propaganda, for we knew that it would not do the job. We analyzed the position of those countries and we began attacking on the grass-roots level. We created a program of action which included improvements in health, sanitation, nutrition, and literacy.

That is where I saw the function of the social worker. We made extensive exchanges of students. We sent people down there, including social workers of all kinds, and their work remained after the emergency as a permanent good. So much so that when the subject of continuing the advisory social functions of UNRRA came up in the United Nations, although the program was only for those nations that had received help from UNRRA, the Latin American countries nevertheless requested that this advisory action of the United Nations in the field of social work should include the countries of Latin America.

Here, then, is a case where a difficult political problem was solved by social action, social means. Nobody can deny that. That experience can be applied in the United Nations. I do not mean to say that it is a panacea, but I do believe that through social action we can diminish the tensions that are to be found in all areas. How, for instance, could you conceive, realistically, the solution of the problem of the children in all those war-devastated areas if it were not for the technical knowledge that the United States social worker has gathered? I repeat that the Children's Fund is the first case of international coöperation in world terms, and I think the social worker has a tremendous contribution to make.

I see for the social worker of the United States the broadest vistas of pioneering work to be done in social terms. If the United States leadership is going to be good leadership in world efforts, it has to be inspired, it has to be pervaded by that same spirit that the social worker has aroused in the United States in the last two decades. It is the only way in which, it seems to me, these hundreds of millions of backward people are going to enter upon a new road of progress and of improvement, because their unaided attempts to find a solution will be bloody and disastrous. But I think the social worker as a community leader in the United States has to do this terrifically important job, has to educate the American people to the deep significance of the leadership that has come to the United States in the world affairs. That is the paramount duty, it seems to me, that a social worker has in the future.

THE RE-EDUCATION OF CONQUERED PEOPLES

By T. V. Smith

IF AN EDUCATIONAL SIGHT-SEER and a philosophic sound-hearer may be allowed a personal evaluation of education in conquered countries, I hazard the impressions: (1) that in the three major countries conquered our problems are common and triune; (2) that the educational policy of American forces is fairly unitary and chiefly sound; and (3) that the results so far are tolerable, and that the philosophy of the policy may be pointed to with pride, modest pride.

Only impressions, however, are as yet opportune. A decade hence we should have begun to pool and digest our experiences, and perhaps be on the way to achieving reasonable perspective upon our adventures in education in the backwash of war and under the auspices of the military. Though I have been exposed to all the major conquered peoples, I am myself "only an ignorant man and philosopher," lacking the facility of the educationalist who can make scientific surveys that he trusts and falling short of the clairvoyance of the devotee who has private access to absolute norms. I have seen and heard much, these years around the world; but I know little; and, to tell the truth, I do not understand the half of what I know.

Having said so much, I would now, with a story, further the moral of modesty, while at the same time getting my subject under way:

We Japanese [spoke their Minister of Education in welcoming our United States Education Mission to Tokyo], may find it difficult to be a model conquered people, seeing that for some two thousand years of national history we have never been conquered before. Though utterly inexperienced at the business, our intentions are honorable. We shall, I promise you, do our best to be a model conquered people. Do you but kindly coach us if you see us falling short.

On the other hand [to continue quoting his line of thought from memory], do I rightly surmise that you Americans are not without your own embarrassment? You may find it difficult to be a model conquering people, seeing that in your century and a half of national life you have never been

in the habit of conquering other people. I know that your intentions are honorable and I do not fear that you will make the mistake that we Japanese made in the heyday of our conquest, that of trying to inflict our way of life upon the conquered; but with your youth, your energy, and your efficiency you may well be tempted to set a pace which we Japanese, with all our honorable intentions, cannot maintain. Do you but let us coach you if we see you falling short.

Through such mutual aid [he concluded his introduction], we may turn our joint embarrassment into a model relation between honorable conquerors and those honorably conquered.

If that story serves to show us how to keep the worse from being the worst, I would fain give an account of our American position that would nerve us to make the best of the worst. I have come back from service in all the conquered countries, widely experienced in the cultural horrors of war. Not mine the forefront of heroism, but daily the backwash of degradation which war leaves visible. And yet I have come home with a morale so high that I can compare it only with the feeling the Athenian Greek must have had after the battle of Salamis when, seeing the hordes of thralldom beating a path back to Persia, he knew that through his efforts a new lease on life had been given the genius of freedom.

The nature and extent of our triumph make the hour opportune to hurl great facts against the foolish fears of little men. Have free men not at last shown even themselves that for the sake of freedom, and without serious sacrifice of freedom, free men could organize themselves for action and marshal their resources even more effectively than any tyrant could? All hope from coöperation must rest upon a sound solution of the administrative problem, a neutral problem that frustrates more good than the intentions of evil men can ever do. Out of the war came a well-drawn blueprint of that solution, so far as organization of violence is concerned. Nor had we long to wait for a sign that free force could organize itself for peace as well. But the blueprint of administrative wisdom for war is itself something to be preserved to bolster our confidence, as our initial success at organizing the nations for peace is to inspire further effort. In hardly more than a year we have initiated the organization of the world for peace, and have progressed further with it in one year than my most optimistic thought would have allowed in five. And we have done both with first a foreground of victory, and now a background of victory, more complete than men before had thought pos-

sible. Nor is that all. To match that historic fact is the inner assurance of conscience: that men have never fought before, and finely won, a conflict in which the issues were so nearly black and white. Though historic issues are perhaps never wholly pure, the issue of the war has been little spotted with ethical ambiguity.

I came home in a mood, therefore, which simply could not understand the pessimism of some and the fearfulness of most. Even if humanity were to go up in fission or down before consciously planted bacteria, it would be a taking off, I said to myself, more resplendent than living in fear of the creative energies now released by physicists and biologists. I have never seen any special virtue in dying of old age or in bed. Why be fearful, anyhow, I asked myself over and over again, when all we have to fear are the possibilities that attend the new energies, and when, as compensation for that normal fear, we have to enjoy the actualities that attend discoveries unparalleled and benefits unprecedented in all human experience? With such success of war behind us, with such prospects of peace around us, the man is foolish if not downright craven, I said to myself, who does not see more reason to crow, to crow gaily and lustily, than to crool, to crool vainly and miserably.

Common to Italy, Germany, and Japan are these three problems: how to conduct schools without buildings; how to censor textbooks and yet have enough materials with which to teach; and how to purge the teaching personnel and yet keep the schools open and operating.

School buildings are, everywhere, relatively large; they can easily be spotted and hit, and their use for military purposes not infrequently makes them justifiable as well as easy targets from the air. At any rate, that conquered country is fortunate which has half its school buildings fit to use for school after a modern war; and educators who serve as military governors are lucky if, of those schools not destroyed, they can get the half cleared of grain, troops, refugees, or the homeless, so that they may be used exclusively for educational purposes.

Japan is the most fortunate of the three conquered countries in this regard, but there the question of school plant is also a problem. In Italy and Germany the lack of plant has been, is, and is to remain appalling. It is not a problem which can be solved during, or for a long time following, war. Great resourcefulness has been shown,

however, by our educators in utilizing what remains and in finding substitutes—all the way down to tents in bad weather and the spreading shade tree in weather that is good. Nobody can tell how long the rebuilding will require at the best—and at the worst it may not all ever be consummated.

Theoretically, the textbook problem would appear simpler than the building problem, if for no other reason than that good teaching, even superior teaching, frequently may be done without textbooks. But not in lands conquered for ideological reasons. The gist of their ideological offense was that fascism, Nazism, and Japanese feudalism destroyed the independent judgment of their citizens, including the teachers, and so could harness all energies for nefarious ends. Such teachers are utterly lost without being told what to teach. They have been so broken in to do the bad that freedom to do the good paralyzes rather than inspires them.

They must be furnished something to teach. We cannot allow them to go ahead with the poison that forced us to conquer them. Textbooks cannot be plucked out of good intentions. How does one get new textbooks, for instance, when paper is in short supply the world round, and equally absent are other supplies required in printing? I thought it prudent not to ask my staff in Italy where and how they got the wherewithal to produce, under impossible conditions, some two million books during the first eventful year after the invasion of Sicily. True, the books we printed were on cheap paper, they lacked the multicolored gaiety of fascist textbooks, and their prices were higher. They were puny and expensive, but they were pure.

In Germany our educational staff has been equally hard pressed. The utterly inadequate allotment of paper was cut again in half the day before our mission left Germany. But in Germany and in Japan, as in our initial work in Italy, our staffs stolidly set themselves the task of finding indigenous scholars whom they could trust, of setting them to the writing and themselves to the production of texts for the reconstituted schools. Within approximately a year in each of the conquered lands, we have made much more than a token payment upon the textbook need of the elementary schools. In Germany we have already seen the printing of some 5,000,000 textbooks.

As difficult as that problem was, more delicate was the sister prob-

lem of "purifying" the teaching profession—delicate and difficult besides. It is delicate for believers in democracy to try to discern and, more, to appraise what is in other people's minds. Our deepest democratic theory is that what others think is nobody's business so long as they merely think or merely even teach it. But this time we were drawn into war because the odious things that were thought were not only taught, but were also perpetrated as insufferable action. Having fought the war for ideological reasons—it was our first such predicament—we had to undertake to clear the ground which we took. Victory against false ideologies entailed right ideological responsibilities. It is easy enough from the vantage of distance to stamp out fascism and nazism abstractly, so to say; but in the conquered countries nothing could be done with the 'isms without abridging the liberties of the 'ists. It is not nice business for a teacher, even in uniform, to fire other teachers from their jobs, especially since what they are fired for was but the common requisite to their being teachers under circumstances mostly beyond their control.

How to pick out the most guilty when everybody was more or less guilty is a job for gods, not for men. By hook and by crook we have managed everywhere to purge enough teachers to constitute at least a sort of down payment upon our responsibility to purify the profession of those who had defiled it in our eyes. In Italy we fired a large majority of the school administrators, but only a negligible proportion of actual classroom teachers (excepting university professors at that fascist "plum" of a place, the University of Rome). Our theory was that if honest and dependable supervisors were installed, we could hold them responsible, as is their due, for what went on in their schools. Through questionnaires, through interviews, and at times through private informers, we made a stab at balancing the account between two motives, both imperatively operative: the motive of pedagogical efficiency and the motive of political purity.

In Italy we fired less than 5 percent of the teaching profession; in Japan the percentage, so far, is well under that. Looking squarely at the problem, I do not too stoutly defend what we did in this regard. Yet, I would personally pursue the same policy of moderation—and prudence—again. And I would do so all the more in the light of our subsequent and current German predicament in this matter

of purification. In that benighted land we initially dismissed more than 50 percent of the teachers. Then we turned the responsibility for the policy, as we have been wont democratically to do in all conquered countries, back to the Germans themselves, under a law which we helped them formulate and then approved. Through the processes of adjudication provided for in the law, the German courts have been flouting our standards in more than three fourths of the cases. This involves so ready, so obvious, and so odious a loss of face on our part that General Lucius Clay at last took angry cognizance of the practice and gave warning with sixty days of grace that unless such rectification were itself rectified, American Military Government would take back the responsibility and clean the stables.

However this present predicament turns out, the aftertaste is bad. It is difficult to retake power once it has been returned, so difficult that an occupying force will strain the to-be-expected improvement of the interim period in order not to have to retread the wearisome ground. Everybody loses face with the reversion of responsibility, and the implementation is set back so as to impair the psychological motivation on which its effectiveness depends. Even if the threat is fulfilled, as it seldom is, it remains to be seen whether our own sense of justice would not, under the circumstance of such slapdash removals, restore a large proportion of those we dismissed, undermining thus our own reputation for stamina without improving our reputation for justice.

It is clearly better not to bite off more than we can chew. The standards are too rough and ready that will penalize so large a proportion as guilty in a field where none is really pure. We fired few in Italy, but for the most part we kept them fired. The same goes for Japan. In Germany we dismissed far more than we can keep dismissed, whoever makes the final judgment. Those dismissed will accumulate grievances to be taken back as motives into their work. We have yielded to German tribunals the credit for compassion, a credit we will not get even if we, taking back the responsibility, restore as many as did the Germans. It will redound but to our weakness, even though the German courts got credit for mercy. And worst of all, in the long meantime, there are eighty children to each elementary teacher in our zone in Germany, the average age of elementary teachers is above fifty, and education goes forward hardly more than in name. Retribution is seldom a prudent motive for

action, however righteous it makes the possessor feel; and hurry-to-get-home or even hurry-to-get-a-job-done is never a sure reliance for functional success. Nothing fails like failure in military government, and education under military government constitutes no exception to this rule. Continuity of policy is the hallmark of good government, and never more so than with the Germans.

It would be hard to say that the Russians have done better than we in this regard in Germany, they who count conversion to communism as adequate purification from fascism. But I do not hesitate to say that if the British keep fired the 15 to 20 percent of teachers they have dismissed in their zone, they will have done better than we. And this they are most likely to do. They will have struck a more dependable balance between efficiency and purity; and they will have confirmed their legitimacy to rule by a continuity of policy.

These, then, are the three main problems and these are my main impressions about them. In spite of exception taken to our handling of the problem of denazification in Germany, I pass favorable judgment upon our general educational policies in Germany, as in Japan and Italy. It is our batting average which fair judgment must rely upon.

It is pleasant but barely meaningful to praise what we have done in most fields of education in these countries. As a democratic nation we are fatefully committed to education to fulfill our hopes at home, to lessen our fears of the peoples abroad. We have but done what we could about buildings, since we were driven by our habits to open schools as early as possible after each conquest. We have but done what we could, and it has been a near miracle, in getting books for the elementary grades. Our policy of purification was prescribed by the war, though it has varied in degree and is differential in wisdom. So nearly all the teachers in all three lands were guilty that it would have been better theoretically to follow Plato's advice: to banish all adults and start over with only those ten and under. But this is hardly practical.

But all impetuous perfectionism apart, let me further illustrate the unitary nature of our policy, its straightforwardness, and its essential soundness by reference to something more important, even if it is also less spectacular, than our policy of ideological purification; the general negative tone of our approach. I set this policy in Italy and defended it against all comers, whether "progressive" edu-

cators or "scholastics," the policy that we would tell the Italians only what they must not teach. To do that much was a part of our military mission. But where our option began, there I made their freedom to set in. We made it their business to find out what they were to teach. In our abstention from positive directives was their chance to be positive, which means to be free, which in turn is the last meaning of democracy. It was their scholars who determined what went into our revised textbooks. I argued as with a colleague, argued endlessly with the Italian Minister of Education (I refer primarily to Guido de Ruggero, a fellow philosopher) about many things, but most of all about the excessive "historicity" of the Italian approach to pedagogy. I contended that the trouble with Italy is that she has too much history, is dominated by her background, has become, in short, a slave to a past so long and "glorious" that her culture is a sort of barbarism of glory. Only those countries, I argued with the Minister, which lack a history should emphasize history. Those that have it can escape from their past only by emphasizing imagination rather than memory and reason. But the freedom of my Minister is testified to by the fact that I never won the argument. The final business was his, and it was my business not to let his business become my business.

Though each set of our educational officials in the various countries would probably wish to state the policy their own way, this negativity has been the unitary spirit of our approach. As touching Germany, from the days I helped in London to lay the pre-invasion educational policy on down to the latest directive, this note of abstention has been conspicuous. On the flyleaf of our first textbooks in Germany, for instance, we printed something like this: "This book was written by German scholars for German children in the days before Hitler. It will be used only until German scholars write better books for German children." Not only did we advertise the principle of non-interventionism of any positive sort, but we have utilized every incentive (much more successfully than I was able to do in Italy) to get German scholars to compete with each other in turning out better books¹ for German children. Lieutenant Colonel John W. Taylor, a sensitive and sensible American educator, now president of the University of Louisville, who has been responsible in Germany from the invasion, has put this wise policy pointedly: "It is the policy of the Education Branch to leave the German whatever does not

¹ In the first year we approved more than a thousand books for production.

conflict with the program of denazification and demilitarization of Germany. In the field of education no textbook has been forced upon the Germans. It is believed that self-determination along democratic lines guarantees better results in the end."

There has been little deviation from this policy in Japan, and what there has been has grown out of the insistence of the Japanese people for more positive help. Indeed, I should not be surprised if in the final accounting our colleagues in Japan may come off with higher honors. The Japanese people have made all things easier, there, even though the culture interposes a massive social distance.

When it comes time to point with pride, modest pride, I would fain put an appreciative hand upon the shoulders of all the men and women who have labored to implement, so straightforwardly, this wise policy of abstention, of positive encouragement only to the indigenous forces of resiliency in each country. But even if space allowed, who am I to strew the flowers, save the silent tribute of a fellow worker who knows how hard the task has often been?

Though other men had been in all our places—many other men did do most of the work for which we directors in the several lands got the credit, or blame—I do not doubt that the good work would have gone on toward the same end. The policies were, in this regard at least, accepted right to the very top. Cordell Hull early struck this note as touching liberated countries (and the spirit of it spread to conquered countries as well): "It would be unwise for this government to undertake to apply, much less to impose, a foreign education program for the placement of American teachers in the schools of those countries, or for the preparation of textbooks in the United States for use in such schools."

Ours was the lot, in the light of wise policies, simply to be the ambassadors abroad that Americans usually are when entrusted with heavy responsibility. There were very few educators who grew trigger-happy with power merely because they wore a uniform and sometimes "toted" a pistol. Singularly few there were like the provincial military governor in Italy, himself not an educator, who reproached me for not doing as he said he did, "talk big to the Italians." To his reproach I wrote this laconic line: "When I have the power, I needn't talk big; and when I haven't, I dissent." So few such misfits we had in education that I felt that I spoke for nearly all my educational colleagues in every land when, in my final report to the Allied Com-

mission in Italy, I wrote: "Most of all, and all the while, we have done whatever we have done through methods of consultation and in an atmosphere of democratic reasonableness, to make right procedures speak where commands of authority would not carry beyond the echo of the hour."

Since these impressions are highly personal, let me close with a bit of experience in Japan. I had a philosopher's good fortune to be asked by the head of our United States Education Mission to prepare for General Douglas MacArthur the background material for a new course on ethics to be given in the Japanese schools. I sought, as one would, for a few spots on the gnarled old Japanese tree where I could graft twigs that, if they grew, would draw their sap from the old trunk to produce in a decade or so democratic foliage. I had finished my report and got it accepted by the committee of the whole when a strange thing happened. Dr. George Stoddard, our chief and leader, showed me one day a long letter in beautiful English script on the letterhead of Sugamo Prison, where high war criminals were awaiting trial. The letter was from a former minister of education caught in the toils of our purification. In a deft and respectful way, he called attention to the enormous role that handicraft has played and, he said, still plays, in the Japanese villages. He thought it significant for national morale and not without meaning as live material for ethical instruction.

I was quite ashamed that I had not thought of this all by myself. It was my ignorance of Japan (sightseers are not good policy-makers!) which led me to overlook what I well know and do so deeply esteem as ethically meaningful in America as already to have written a book about it. So to atone for my shame, I did what any other American would have done. I corrected my ignorance in profit from, and out of gratitude toward, the Japanese prisoner of war: when I returned to our committee of the whole for new approval, my prescription for Japanese ethics was centered in the moral meaning of workmanship which can yield at the same time both a living and a life. Working up to morality from the good manners characteristic of the Japanese, manners which need only to be made mutual between classes in order to become democratically moral, and then through sportsmanship, which politically speaking is but the *noblesse oblige* of democratic compromise, I found myself on the very summit of what Japan already has and is: a way of life which needs only to be

smoothed out and mutually applied to constitute a fine beginning on democratic morality. I learned from him in prison what it does not pay us to forget in dealing with other cultures: purify what they have, and they will be as near to what you can make them as they can become!

This, I am certain, has been the prevailing spirit of our educational policy in all conquered lands. American educators have gone forth in the garb, but not in the guise, of conquerors. We have been intent upon demilitarizing the minds of men. But we have wished to save all indigenous resourcefulness, and we have been quick to recognize in each land an astonishing amount of it. We have used our position of temporary power to dethrone their chronic will to power and to open opportunities, as defined by them, for us to meet in mutuality the ancient will to perfection, which lies now in them, as sometimes in us, sleeping, but never dead—never, never dead.

If I were to presume upon predication—and it is as natural as it is precarious—I should guess that as between our three major conquered peoples, we have least to expect for our way of life from the Italians, most to expect from the Japanese, and some intermediate and unknown amount to expect from the Germans.

I rate the Italians low, not because I do not like them, for I do; and not because I think them lacking ability or graciousness in its use. They are indeed a vivacious and a friendly people. I asked three ministers of education in turn how the Americans and the British stand with the Italians. Each replied with the same *cliché*, as though rehearsed: "We like the Americans but do not respect them; we respect the British but do not like them!" How can you fail to enjoy a people like that?

But friendliness and graciousness apart, they are caught in the toils of the one problem which unattended gets nations down, a problem about which, as things go, most can be done, but a problem about which the Italians only shrug their shoulders because of a dogma that forbids them free remedial play upon the problem. I refer to their population predicament. With some forty millions, which Mussolini promised to make into sixty millions, upon a peninsula which could hardly under any circumstances support 25,000,000 people, they simply have more children than they can process; and, unable to educate and nurture the children, they are naturally un-

able to support anything else. As long as the Italians prefer, in the name of mock piety, to enjoy quantity birth and to suffer quantity death rather than, with true humanity, to have quality production and quality nurture for a population which it can support, so long I do not see what we have to expect for our way of life from them. The most we can expect is that they will not be able for a long time to do anything substantial against the spread of democracy among peoples who are willing to organize themselves to profit from its freedom from dogma.

I rate the Japanese high simply upon their record so far. They are, for a fact, God's gift to military governors. I hazard nothing as to their motive in being so obedient and so efficient in promoting what we exact of them, save to suggest that if they are trying to fool us and get us out in a hurry, they may take themselves in while trying to wear us out. I add, for I am a stranger to their culture and do not profess to understand their mentality, that General MacArthur, who is no stranger and does profess to understand them, believes that they are sincere and altogether on the square.

What is visible is most reassuring, upon the face of it. Over and over we heard this kind of talk among our intellectual peers, with whom we served on small committees and with whom we developed a certain natural intimacy as between educational colleagues:

You have put us in your debt by coming to help us with our education [they would say]. Half a century ago we Japanese thought that it was science which defined your superiority to us, in so far as you were superior. So we went for science in a large way. We are proud of what we have been able to achieve in so short a time, scientifically. In pure science we have made progress and in technology we have sufficiently industrialized our feudal nation as to hold our own for quite a time at war with the Western giant of technology. We now see, or think we see, that science is not enough. Indeed, we are beginning to suspect that we were on the wrong road, or at least that we had the cart before the horse. There seems to be something in your type of social organization that is superior to ours. Hidden under what you call "democracy" [they would go on] there is a resiliency, a tenacity, a resourcefulness, a virtue of some sort or other which seems to render it superior in war as in peace to our feudal type of organization. We want you to teach us about equality and to familiarize us with your horizontal, as distinct from our hierarchic, approach to one another. We want you to help us democratize our schools so that we may at length democratize ourselves.

I think I know more about the Germans than about either of the other peoples, but I have of them the most equivocal expectations for the democratic way of life. I saw all over our American zone in the autumn of 1946 German prisoners of war whom behind barbed wire the year before I had done my best to democratize. In Germany as in America they were enthusiastic about America (many of them wished to emigrate), and they were still all for democracy, so far as they understood it. They understood it well enough until it came to the crucial point, and this they never seemed to get.

In camp they would follow my descriptions of democratic procedure, joining heartily in small group discussions. But there would invariably come a time when one of them would say something like this: "Colonel, what you are now saying seems to imply that in a democracy you must sometimes forego your principles to meet other people of other principles or none half way." "Yes, of course," I would reply. Then all was awry, every German wishing to talk at the same time and always saying the same thing, to this effect: "That wishy-washy way may work in America, but it would never work in Germany. Germans have character; they are people of principle; and they could never forego principles for the sake of compromise."

It was so. It is so. It will remain so, for who knows how long. Wherever it is so, there democracy is crucified at the very fountain whence issues its morale. Who does not see that when disputes are over principles, as all great disagreements come to be, the reiteration of the principle does not settle the dispute, it only makes it worse? The only way to settle such a dispute is to see that justice, crucified by both exponents, stays creation at your hands. "You" being in this case the politician, of whatever party, who undertakes to get partisans together in spite of their principles, so that principle may once again have a career. The more honest men are, the further apart principle will push them; so far apart, indeed, that if they had to meet each other face to face, each would wilt with a sense of guilt that would drive them to drink or hurl them at each other's throat.

So politics, our two-party kind, is the mediation which enables good men to survive the deathly competition in principle to which their goodness naturally drives them. The politician is the moral midwife, as it were, who brings to birth through the skillful art of

compromise a justice otherwise stillborn in the throes of violence. By saving the day for reason against men whose stubborn rightness makes for joint unreason, the politician bears from each the guilt for the compromise and leaves them both free of self-accusation and able to enjoy the fruits of peace preserved by his compromise alone.

Democracy is a great system, at home or abroad. At home, we still manage to maintain it, in spite of sectaries and partisans. Abroad, we seem to have allies that run the gamut of promise: Italians, well-meaning, but ineffective until they institute some conscientious withdrawal of procreative efficiency; Germans, efficient, but romantic, self-pitying, and fanatical, crucifying reasonableness in the name of reason; Japanese, courteous, imitative, resourceful, ostensibly eager to learn our ways and visibly effective now at turning our advice to educational account.

PROBLEMS OF EUROPE AND THEIR CHALLENGE

By Fred K. Hoehler

MANKIND'S MOST DESTRUCTIVE WAR has been followed by the most stupendous and perplexing rehabilitation problem in all history. Relief requirements run into astronomical figures, and the work of reconstruction will require an entire generation. Even then, much of what was Europe before the war will never be restored.

Most of what we today know to be true, from recent European observations, was forecast in 1943 in a report issued by the Inter-Allied Committee on Post-War Requirements. This committee estimated that the minimum relief requirements—exclusive of the Soviet Union—for the first eighteen months after D Day would amount to \$10,000,000,000. A token relief program was set up under the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, but in the Congress of the United States, and to a lesser degree in other legislative bodies, there was no wholehearted effort to make this international organization truly international. Suspicion and selfish demands for return to normal living in America soon began to weaken UNRRA.

In the winter of 1944-45 we saw the first post-invasion struggle against cold and hunger. People who had suffered extreme privation under a conqueror had little better existence after liberation. A few families in France, Belgium, and Holland had hoarded supplies. Almost all the others went hungry, and many starved. Italy had a serious shortage of locally grown food, and there were no textiles. More than 50 percent of the families lived in bombed buildings and suffered from exposure and cold. Fuel was not available for home consumption. Even in the British Isles fuel, housing, food, clothing, and transport facilities were critically scarce.

In the winter of 1945-46 Europe suffered from shortages of fuel, and a bad crop year reduced food production. Relief shipments were slowly picking up for those countries which elected to receive UNRRA aid. Other countries—France, Belgium, and England—

failed to make the anticipated purchases in the Americas, and shipping space was not too plentiful for what supplies they could secure.

The disagreeable part of being an American in England or on the Continent that winter was the knowledge that our government was releasing all rationing controls, while our allies were suffering from a growing lack of everything essential to life. There was no satisfactory explanation as to why we deserved to eat more and live better than our allies just because our homes had been spared and the war had never seriously touched us.

The winter of 1946-47 came upon a whole continent of starved and weakened people. The toll taken in Europe that winter will never be added up, but authentic reports make it clear that the destruction of life was comparable to that in the war. From the Mediterranean to the Arctic low temperatures and heavy snowfalls topped the records of a century. Fuel and food shortages continued with resulting hardship and tragedies, finally bringing about complete economic confusion. Britain suffered with the rest of Europe, and only those who have been there or who have kept in contact with people abroad can begin to realize what the winter meant in the destruction of life and loss of morale of our former allies.

In many countries people who tried to live in the ruins of their former homes died of exposure and hunger. If they survived, it was because they lived with relatives or friends in homes already overcrowded to the point of family disintegration. Numerous social difficulties were added to physical privation.

A growing bitterness and resentment of "comfortable America" have damaged our prestige and leadership abroad. The people of Europe fail to understand our apparent indifference to their sufferings. Gifts of food and clothing and of UNRRA supplies (largely financed by the United States) fail to compensate for the knowledge that at V-J Day many restrictions had been lowered in the United States and that not long after, most controls on essential supplies were removed.

I was in London the day after V-J Day when the newspapers carried the news of the end of gasoline rationing in America and of the other controls that were soon to end. The remarks of Londoners, for whom everything was still under strict control, were not too pleasant for American ears. Then, later, came the request for the

British loan and the embarrassing long-delayed action that seriously injured the economic situation in that country.

A little sincere, hard thinking along with "news and views of the world" should be sufficient to arouse our sympathy for this attitude.

As we lost leadership and prestige other nations gained increased respect. The prestige of Britain has vastly improved because of the valiant spirit that continued to sustain her through the past winter. But for economic leadership and support, European countries must look elsewhere. Their eyes rest on the Soviet Union.

Our demonstrated ignorance of what is going on abroad combined with official United States action have provided little of the hope and leadership that Europe needs today. Our isolationism, in Congress and outside it, our selfish demands for the return to normalcy, hate- and prejudice-mongers and news writers and commentators who speak only for special interests—these are a few of the reasons why Europe distrusts us. The Congressional debate and the charges which accompanied discussions of the American appropriation to UNRRA were published in full in the limited newspapers of Europe and Britain.

In the meantime, what have we done and what of our record? Obviously, the United States cannot do the entire job, but I am convinced that some leadership in international collaboration from our government would be followed by immediate action from Canada, Brazil, Australia, and even Russia.

In December, 1946, and again in the more recent Hoover reports we were told that "more than 100 million people in Europe" are living on a diet that is close to, or even below, the level of slow starvation. But too few Americans realize that in Britain, in Central Europe, and in all the formerly occupied countries, all the people are today sustaining life on diets far below the peacetime normal and on about half the average individual consumption in the United States. Economic and political chaos in most of the world has made the shipment and distribution of food an extremely difficult task, while fuel and food shortages have been accompanied by political uncertainty and bartering for political support.

When the matter of an international emergency food organization was before the United Nations Assembly, the United States opposed any effort to continue UNRRA or to undertake its relief function on an international basis. Our spokesman favored the provision of aid

on a unilateral basis, with the United States assisting those nations friendly to our government.

The United Nations Food Emergency Fund was proposed by Fiorello H. La Guardia to "meet relief needs without regard to race, creed, or political belief." He decried the proposal that relief should be given on a national basis or that a group of rich nations should individually decide what people should be the recipients of their charity.

The United States argued that the organization of an international agency would require time and that immediate needs could best be met through unilateral action. To this point of view the United Kingdom representative, Philip J. Noel-Baker, expressed surprise. He noted that, on the contrary, the United States Government had pledged itself to the principle of international coöperation as expressed in UNRRA and had agreed to the international assessment of needs. As for the British position, Mr. Noel-Baker subscribed to the proposal that relief should be handled by an international agency, which his government hoped would be appointed in time to report by December 15, 1946, at the latest. He proposed that the short-term work of UNRRA should be merged with the long-term task of the United Nations, as has already been done in the field of health.

Mr. La Guardia then argued that, with the full coöperation of the United Kingdom and the United States, an international organization could be set up and no time would be lost. Said Mr. La Guardia: "The question of time now being injected is only an inedible herring of no color. No matter whose plan is adopted the United States Government will have to go to Congress for money."

After rather lengthy debate and discussion at the United Nations it was decided that there would be no international relief organization, but that the Assembly might establish an economic commission for Europe.

A statement from the United Nations authorities tells us that more than \$10,000,000,000 will be required in 1947 for the relief and reconstruction of twelve war-stricken European and African countries whose plight has been under consideration by the Economic and Social Council's Temporary Subcommission on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas. This estimate was made in a special study undertaken by the Secretariat at the request of the Council.

It is estimated that less than 60 percent of the means necessary to meet such demands can be derived from the financial resources of

the needy countries. An interim report made by the Secretary-General emphasizes the fact that until action is taken by private organizations, governments, or international agencies to augment the existing loanable resources, the import needs of these devastated countries cannot be financed in full. The report presents the needs, and reviews the existing means of meeting them, of Belgium-Luxembourg (treated as a unit because of their economic union), Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Netherlands, Poland, Yugoslavia, Austria, Finland, Hungary, and Italy.

Although the Council had requested the Secretary-General to undertake a study of reconstruction requirements only, it was found necessary to treat reconstruction and relief jointly. The needs are presented on the evidence of information submitted to the Secretary-General chiefly in response to a questionnaire sent to the member governments.

The Secretary-General was specifically requested by the Council to:

1. Undertake special studies of the needs of devastated United Nations countries for long- and short-term financing of their urgent reconstruction requirements, including raw materials needed for import
2. Review the existing means of meeting such needs, including intergovernmental loans and credits, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and private and commercial credits
3. Draw to the Council's attention any cases where the existing means of financing urgent reconstruction requirements seem to be insufficient

The total figure estimated for relief and reconstruction in the twelve countries during 1947 is \$10,844,900,000, of which \$6,840,300,000 can probably be met by foreign exchange and other resources of the countries concerned. The report, in examining resources available to meet the total deficit of \$3,487,100,000, points out that there are certain important limitations to an exclusive reliance on loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. One of these limitations arises from the fact that Austria, Finland, Hungary, and Italy are not members of the Bank. The report points out that the existing means—including the Bank—at the disposal of all the countries will be sufficient to finance their import requirements for relief and reconstruction.

At the time of preparation of the interim report, little definite

action had been taken to provide free relief grants in 1947. It is considered likely, however, that the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries which contributed generously to UNRRA will make additional relief grants on a unilateral or bilateral basis during the year. Even if the relief requirements of the devastated countries under consideration are fully met by such means, however, there will still be a deficit of \$2,800,000,000 for 1947 needs other than relief.

The Secretary-General's interim report, which was submitted to the members of the Economic and Social Council for their consideration, provided useful evidence concerning the extent and urgency of the needs of devastated Europe. The Council took note of the report on March 3, 1947, and on the same day it agreed unanimously to establish an Economic Commission for Europe.

Relief will be assisted to a limited degree by the activity of the International Children's Emergency Fund, which was established by a resolution of the General Assembly in December, 1946. The Fund will be financed by contributions from governments, nongovernmental agencies, and private individuals. It will be used to provide for children generally, particularly in countries which were victims of aggression.

In addition to recommending establishment of the Children's Fund, the UNRRA Council at its Geneva meeting in August, 1946, requested the United Nations to take over its advisory social welfare functions. The Economic and Social Council endorsed this recommendation, giving particular emphasis to the welfare of children. In December the General Assembly unanimously agreed to do so, and allocated \$670,000 to be used in the coming year.

By the terms of the resolution, the Secretary-General has been authorized to provide, in consultation with the Economic and Social Council and with the specialized agencies concerned, for the continuance of UNRRA's advisory social welfare work. The program which the United Nations has now undertaken includes:

1. Retaining a requisite number of social welfare experts to provide advisory services, on the request of governments which show the need for them, and to put into practice new technical methods in any branch of social welfare
2. Retaining a requisite number of social welfare officials to ob-

serve and familiarize themselves with the experience of other countries administering social welfare programs

3. Providing advice, demonstration, and instruction in connection with the manufacture of prosthetic appliances and the vocational training of physically handicapped persons, and furnishing the necessary equipment and tools

4. Furnishing, to member countries which have been devastated by the war, technical publications helpful in the training of social workers

UNRRA maintained fellowships for study of the field of social welfare, and this plan is being continued by the United Nations. The Secretary-General has been directed to select fellows on the basis of proposals received from governments.

The extent of the services to be furnished the various governments will be determined by the Secretary-General and reviewed by the Social Commission. The Commission has been directed by the Assembly to formulate recommendations on continued action required to carry on these advisory functions.

During the final hours of its first session the General Assembly brought to a successful conclusion its long debates on one of the most tragic legacies of the war: the million or more refugees and displaced persons who still live in camps and assembly centers in Europe. By a majority vote, the plenary meeting on December 15, 1946, adopted the constitution of the proposed International Refugee Organization.

The IRO will come into being as soon as fifteen members, who must represent at least 75 percent of the allotted contributions, accept the constitution. The Preparatory Commission came into existence when eight members signed the documents relevant to the establishment of the IRO and the Commission.

Once IRO is operating effectively it will have the primary task of repatriation, and the secondary task of resettlement of the refugees and displaced persons who, for valid reasons, cannot be repatriated to their countries of origin. It will also assume all of UNRRA's administrative functions concerning refugees, and will be responsible for the work now performed by the occupation forces as regards care, maintenance, and transport. For its first financial year, a budget of \$160,000,000 is planned. Contributions for administrative and opera-

tional expenses will be compulsory, but those for large-scale resettlement will be voluntary.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who spoke for the United States at the first session, pleaded for acceptance of the constitution of the IRO, not only in order to aid the great mass of refugees who remain in Europe, but also because "each member government of the United Nations has a direct selfish interest in the early disposition of the [refugee] problem." Further, said Mrs. Roosevelt,

As long as a million people remain in a refugee state, they delay the restoration of peace and order in the world. They contribute to the impairment of good relations between friendly governments. They represent in themselves political, economic, and national conflicts which are symbolic of the work that lies before nations if peace is to be restored. While they remain a solid mass in assembly centers, they deteriorate individually, and collectively they present a sore on the body of mankind which it is not safe for us to ignore.

There are now twelve of the required fifteen signatories; at this writing the United States has not yet given Congressional approval to participation in IRO. If this organization becomes a reality with sufficient funds for care and resettlement, an immediate social work job will confront the United Nations. The maintenance and preparation of these people for repatriation and the proper selection of individuals and families for resettlement outside Europe constitute a series of social work functions. In every country where they are to be given sanctuary, social work will have an important responsibility for helping them fit into the traditions and life of their new homelands.

In the meantime, former President Herbert Hoover has been to Europe on a second trip, and he reports dire situations in Germany and elsewhere throughout the Continent. President Truman has called upon Congress to extend aid to Greece and Turkey, and we are assured by the public press that other countries will later be included in our program of foreign aid. If the Congress supports the President in his proposals, it is to be hoped that the emphasis will be on the relief of suffering and not on political interference within, or economic domination of, a country. Eventually, it may be necessary to set up through the United Nations an International Relief Organization similar, in part, to the International Children's Emergency Fund or the IRO and with adequate funds to do the job.

This would provide the kind of participation and discussion which I am convinced is essential if international relief is to be constructive and useful. But like every sincere effort at international collaboration this would imply a sacrifice of part of each nation's sovereignty.

Whatever evolves as a program or organization, there must be close and constant collaboration between government social services and voluntary agencies engaged in foreign relief work. The work of UNRRA and of other governmental programs demonstrated the necessity and importance of constant association and coöperation between public and private services in all countries. In the operation of this program, or even of a unilateral or bilateral relief agreement, there are a great many administrative problems, some of which were encountered by the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, and later in UNRRA. Mistakes made in the past must not be repeated in the future.

The success of international collaboration is made difficult by basic obstacles always present in the association of men from different lands. Some of these obstacles are language, tradition, distance, and ideology. Language is the most obvious and frequently the most trying. Meetings are usually conducted in at least two official languages. While in the past French has been the official diplomatic tongue, to-day English shares that status in most conferences.

To the casual observer, international gatherings seem to proceed with little delay and in much the same manner as any purely national conference. To those who have participated in them, however, it is known that frequently a full meeting of minds is not accomplished because the shades of meaning conveyed by one language are either missed by the interpreter or simply cannot adequately be translated. For this reason, delegates to international conferences must often insist on a lengthy review of a document before an opinion is expressed. The result is often a disastrous delay when emergency services are concerned.

The same obstacle is paramount in the selection of an international staff. Hundreds, and frequently thousands, of individuals will be drawn together for a common purpose. The medium to be used for conveying their ideas is extremely important. Lack of knowledge of languages may cause impatience and even frustration on the part of an individual.

Closely allied to this serious handicap is the problem of varying

salary scales and job classifications. Even when the same language is spoken, as between Britain and the United States, there are many irreconcilable differences of opinion over the simple use of words. Both the Americans, and the British, for example, use the terms "administrative" and "executive"; in Great Britain those words have a meaning exactly the reverse of the American interpretation.

Another personnel difficulty arises on the basic difficulties inherent in tradition. In the United States, within both public and private enterprise, we require the bonding of those officials who are responsible for handling and disbursing funds. Yet, when it was suggested that certain officers of the British Army who were detailed to UNRRA sign such a bond, it was discovered that rather than sign a bond they would retire from their assignment. The tradition that a British officer's oath is more valuable than any bond was stronger than their allegiance to an international organization.

Then, too, Americans are so accustomed to the practice of requiring an oath of officials that such an oath may at times become meaningless. In England, however, there is no such tradition. The Englishman who works for a public employer assumes that his loyalty is expected and understood. To ask him to swear that he will be loyal would indicate distrust and might actually offend him.

One of the most difficult of personnel problems is the assumption that people can work together without old prejudices. UNRRA discovered that many people, whether recruited in the United States or elsewhere, bore prejudice against other nationals, religions, and skin colors, and sometimes these prejudices completely destroyed the usefulness of the employee.

Here, then, is a reason why social agencies in this country and in other countries must put their own houses in order if we are to work coöperatively and helpfully with an international organization. Local prejudices and separatism must be completely eliminated if we are to give our best. Social workers and social agencies must keep informed on programs and on the traditional way of doing things in other countries.

It is to this task that American people generally need now to dedicate their efforts and attention. We must work at home and participate abroad for specific and concrete objectives in the fields of international security, economic reconstruction and development, and social advancement for all people.

EAST MEETS WEST

By Joe R. Hoffer

I BELIEVE THAT THE RECENT EXPERIENCES of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and voluntary agencies in China are worth examining because they teach several lessons which can be useful to American social workers in future efforts to develop an international organization or a program to deal with welfare needs irrespective of location or national origin. We should not repeat past mistakes.

The success of an international welfare program rests on sound organization and administration. This point cannot be overemphasized. Administration must be fitted to the job to be done, and it cannot succeed unless it is well grounded in the structure of the participating governments. If the United States is to be successful in its international welfare efforts, there must be changes in our machinery for doing relief work and for planning our foreign welfare policy. Moreover, if our foreign welfare operations are to proceed beyond the emergency relief stage, we will need both idealism and a stern facing of realities.

The heart of China's problem today is her civil war. But even if peace were to come to China tomorrow, the obstacles to a successful welfare program would stagger the imagination. There is China's vast inertia of established practices, there is its overpopulation, and its total unawareness of modern health and sanitary measures. There is the present government, bent on retaining its power in spite of new elements and new forces in China. These factors present almost insurmountable difficulties for welfare workers.

The Chinese standard of living is tragically low, not only in comparison with Western standards, but in comparison with China's own prewar standard, which was never high. This raises the difficult and perplexing question of how a nation which is so poor can ever afford expensive social services. It can never afford much until the level of the whole economy is raised. But certain steps are possible even now. One is the revision of China's tax structure to distribute more equitably the burden of supporting governmental services.

Even more effective, of course, would be curtailment of the vast expenditures for military purposes.

Another series of barriers to the speedy development of welfare measures might be described as cultural. Some of these obstacles are: a lack of social responsibility to anyone outside the family circle; the too cheerful acceptance of adversity; the lack, measured by Western standards, of a sense of urgency; and the low value placed on human life. Service to people in need in many parts of China is still practiced as almsgiving or on a neighborly basis, similar to the early concepts in this country. There are also the Chinese characteristics of patience, indifference, nonchalance, pacifism, conservatism, scepticism regarding progress—qualities calculated to develop a nation's staying power, but not to speed up social advance or to facilitate the work of social welfare administration.

In view of these facts, what, if anything, has been done or can be done to assist the Chinese people? The largest undertaking has been the combined programs of UNRRA and the China National Rehabilitation and Relief Administration. These official programs were supplemented and complemented by the programs of foreign and Chinese voluntary agencies and the established agencies of the Chinese Government. Also, in the Communist-controlled part of the country, the Chinese Communists developed their own welfare and relief program. In keeping with both UNRRA and CNRRA policy that relief be administered without political discrimination, the government and Communist China worked out methods for making the necessary relief surveys and opening roads for the transportation of relief supplies. Unfortunately, these coöperative efforts deteriorated as both sides prepared for an all-out war.

The effectiveness of all these programs is difficult to estimate. Progress cannot be measured in a year or even in five years. However, certain observations may serve as a guide for our future thinking, planning, and action:

1. *Most of the foreign agencies' efforts have gone into bailing out the boat.*—Social workers know from long experience that the general welfare is better served by positive action to improve standards of living and to prevent human distress than by attempting merely to alleviate social ills. Unfortunately, the major resources of all relief agencies working in China during the past two years had to be used to alleviate social ills and to save lives. It was thought at one

time, for example, that the introduction of UNRRA foods on a local market would tend to reduce prices so that a larger number of the population could buy. Such a result was momentary only, because the quantity which CNRRA was able to deliver to any locality was not large enough to affect the market. Local businessmen withheld their own products until the UNRRA supplies were exhausted, and then they sold their hoarded supplies at an even higher price. By and large, the major contribution of the foreign countries to China's long-range relief and rehabilitation was through restoring parts of the transportation system, recovering some land for agriculture, and providing some essential services such as water supply and power.

2. *UNRRA did not succeed in getting relief supplies distributed without discrimination.*—International welfare services, to achieve their purpose, must be available without respect to race, creed, nationality, or political belief. Although this principle was endorsed by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and former Prime Minister T. V. Soong, the fact remains that practically all the efforts of the UNRRA staff to have relief supplies distributed according to need were thwarted. This failure is evidenced somewhat by a petition from more than three hundred UNRRA staff members to the Director General of UNRRA protesting against the illegal use of supplies. It is seen also in the statement of the Senior Deputy Director General of UNRRA when he announced in Shanghai that, "unless there is a fair distribution of relief supplies, it will be necessary to take action."

On the basis of this experience the time is at hand to examine the problem realistically and determine whether an international or foreign agency can enforce the principle of nondiscrimination in a country divided by civil strife. In China, UNRRA operated through the Central Government, and all supplies were turned over to CNRRA at the point of entry into the country. The Director General of CNRRA endorsed the principle of nondiscrimination and issued instructions to that effect. But the principle broke down when it came to giving supplies to Communist-controlled areas. For one thing, practically any item in the program, especially food, transportation equipment, and industrial equipment, could be converted into potential war *matériel*, and army officials of the Nationalist Government were therefore opposed to their reaching those areas. Secondly, personal animosities and bitter feelings between the two factions,

especially at the local levels of operation, were so great at times that a mere regulation was not sufficient to secure compliance. These factors could not help but contribute to the half-hearted effort to fulfill the provisions of the principle.

But supposing that UNRRA had set out to enforce rigidly the principle of nondiscrimination in relief giving, what could it have done? One suggestion is that UNRRA or a voluntary agency might have undertaken to distribute the supplies directly to Communist-controlled areas. While this may seem a simple solution, the mere staffing and administration of such a project would have been a colossal undertaking. Furthermore, port and transportation facilities would have had to be developed independently, since such facilities were almost nonexistent. No one could estimate what the political implications of direct administration by UNRRA would have been. Of course, UNRRA could have brought all relief operations to a halt. This threat was actually carried out in local situations. In every such case, however, people in need were deprived of essential supplies.

3. *CNRRA tried to be both a coördinating agency and an operating agency, and the combination did not work.*—An important principle of administration is that an agency which has operating responsibilities cannot effectively coördinate the services of other operating agencies. When CNRRA was organized by the Chinese Government it was given a dual function: (1) the coördination of all emergency relief services in the country; and (2) the operation of any necessary relief and rehabilitation services. As a result, CNRRA did not have the full and active participation of existing governmental agencies. Since it attempted in a relatively short time to set up a new governmental structure which could not help but duplicate machinery already in operation and on which existing agencies had been working for years, the result was that much of the available resources of CNRRA were dissipated in the process. As the program developed, the existing agencies reasserted themselves, began to operate independently, and did not participate fully in any coördinated plan. Gradually, CNRRA became an organization primarily to distribute UNRRA supplies. Finally, after about a year of operation, CNRRA decided that it could no longer carry on the emergency services of the program and relinquished these services to established agencies. Unfortunately, the Ministry of Social Affairs and the

National Health Administration were not prepared to assume this load, because of the lack of opportunity for planning, lack of necessary personnel, and insufficient funds.

4. *There was too little opportunity for adequate planning.*—One of the greatest contributions which foreign welfare workers may make to a country is in the area of planning. Advanced planning pays big dividends by insuring the maximum use of finances, personnel, and supplies. The Chinese are great planners. Their paper plans include detailed specifications for all types and varieties of project, ranging from a simple project for the making of peg legs for the disabled to such complex and comprehensive schemes as the proposed Yangtze Valley "TVA." The extent of planning is even more remarkable when one considers the laborious manual efforts with which these plans must be drawn and described in Chinese characters and symbols.

These proposals are fundamentally weak because of the paucity of factual data and the difficulties inherent in making adequate field studies. Even more serious is the fact that the plans are all too frequently relegated to the archives because of the inability to implement them into concrete action. It is at this point that the Chinese welfare organizations particularly need additional personnel, and until they are able to secure an adequate corps of experienced administrators, they may be expected to look to the Western world for technical assistance.

UNRRA and the foreign voluntary welfare specialists were placed in a most difficult position prior to V-J Day. As late as June, 1945, the United States and Chinese military authorities were reluctant to permit more than a token number of foreign personnel to enter the country. The director of the China office was informed that there would be no necessity for welfare operations until the spring of 1946. All available transportation, housing, and food supplies were being husbanded for defense and for aggressive warfare. Less than two months later the Japanese surrender found China totally unprepared for the launching of the greatest relief and rehabilitation program in its history.

It should thus be apparent that it was impossible for China to formulate adequate plans for relief and rehabilitation. There was no master plan. Conspicuously absent were such data as a definition of the scope of the problem and of the needs; existing facilities;

characteristics of the area; authority to initiate planning and operation; basic considerations and principles; standards of care and definition of policies; a plan for coordination and integration of services; and the like.

It is a well-established fact that little effective planning can be accomplished during the first stage of emergency operations. The pressure of problems from the field, the constant flow of new personnel, and other considerations inevitably result in the adoption of empirical methods. Since the China program never got beyond that first stage the staff had no opportunity to indulge in retrospect or to outline its program even a month in advance.

Fortunately, the picture was not so bleak as it may appear because UNRRA and the voluntary agencies had been in operation for a long time and had formulated over-all plans for securing personnel and supplies. The experiences in other sections of the globe provided, if not adequate, at least sufficient support to permit the China area to grapple with the immediate problems.

Although UNRRA was organized primarily as a supply agency, there has been some question as to whether it was a supply or a service agency. This fact was reflected in the nature of the program and accounted for some of the difficulties encountered by the welfare personnel. One illustration will point up a basic weakness. In the procurement of supplies, the UNRRA supply officers insisted on a requisition which listed the items, number required, and specifications by commodities. In establishing a new emergency or overnight shelter, for example, the welfare specialist makes plans for the entire unit, including sleeping quarters, showers, feeding, administrative space and equipment, clothing, vehicles, medical care, etc. True, he can reclassify these items under transportation, medical and welfare supplies, clothing and textiles, and perhaps industrial rehabilitation, but he must receive the items as a unit, and not as individual items over a period of perhaps a year.

The important point is that welfare workers should concern themselves with logistics and gain the necessary experience to break the supply bottleneck if we are to have effective foreign operations. They will have to assist the supply people in breaking through the requirements of supply procurement so that both functions may be served properly.

5. *The foreign agencies unconsciously tended to superimpose*

programs which ran counter to the customs and traditions, desires, and genuine needs of the Chinese people.—International coöperation may often strengthen and accelerate the development of national social welfare programs, but it must guard against attempting to impose upon a country a pattern for organization from another land. Although foreign personnel should assist in planning, offer technical advice, and participate in demonstration projects, the primary responsibility must rest on indigenous or native personnel and organization. One of the greatest temptations of foreign workers and Western-trained Chinese welfare workers is to introduce the latest, most modern techniques, irrespective of whether they meet the particular conditions of the country. This applies to such highly specialized services as casework, research and statistics, administration, and the like. It also includes the use of the most modern methods of rehabilitation of the disabled which require equipment for which the Chinese do not have trained technicians or which they are not prepared to finance.

6. *An international relief operation requires a systematic and comprehensive merit system.*—The effective administration of social welfare services can be assured only through the recruitment, selection, and retention of qualified personnel. The fulfillment of this principle in public foreign welfare service requires an international civil service and the formulation and acceptance of objectives and principles underlying a truly international organization. In private or voluntary agencies it requires the establishment of uniform minimum standards of personnel selection.

The creation of an international civil service and adoption of minimum standards would tend to diminish the small, but irritating, group of vagabond workers and would encourage the development of a professional staff who would truly represent the United Nations. It would tend also to produce individuals with a genuine interest in, and sufficient knowledge of, China's economic, social, and cultural life and to harmonize the ideologies of the international personnel.

It has been the experience of many administrators in China that the mere acquisition of technical knowledge and experience in social welfare was not sufficient for success in the Chinese environment. As a matter of fact, the highly trained worker and the worker who had had experience in an organization with high standards fre-

quently found adjustment difficult. The common belief held by many American professional workers that the major single criterion of success is whether a person possesses a professional education is subject to serious doubt on the basis of the experience in China. The qualities of flexibility, adaptability, and imagination appear to be more important. It should be pointed out, however, that when these qualities are combined with technical competence and broad experience, the results are exceptionally good.

The failure of some highly qualified personnel can be attributed to ill-advised recruitment and job placement. Many of these workers were skilled specialists in such areas as child welfare, handicapped persons, etc., who were required to work in communities where there were no basic general welfare services or where no general welfare administrative organizations existed. If there were some semblance of a general program, in many cases conditions were so primitive and the services needed so elementary, that it was just a matter of time until the worker became completely discouraged. Fortunately, many of these specialists did assume general administrative responsibilities and proceeded to lay the groundwork for the service which was needed and for which the worker was prepared. In some cases this process took a year or more, and by that time some workers were reluctant to part with the prestige and authority of their administrative assignment.

Another reason for failure was the type of responsibility that some welfare workers were required to assume. Staff members were sometimes required to serve in an administrative or consultative capacity in the UNRRA China office with loyalty to UNRRA and charged with the task of seeing that the Chinese Government's distribution of goods and use of personnel were in accordance with UNRRA policies and the basic agreement with the Chinese Government. Others were loaned to CNRRA or to some other governmental agency with theoretical loyalty to that agency, but they were still conscious of their responsibilities as outlined in the UNRRA resolutions and basic agreement. The bulk of the loaned personnel were assigned consultative roles with a Chinese opposite. In many cases the assignment was made with the consent of, but without full acceptance by, the Chinese worker. Furthermore, it was often true that the inexperienced colleague reached a ceiling in learning rather

quickly; and then the relationship and rapport of the foreign worker with the Chinese soon broke down, and his counsel and prodding became a nuisance resented by his Chinese opposite. Another factor which may be of significance is that some of the workers with administrative experience were unable to adjust themselves to acting in a consultative or advisory capacity.

The worker assigned to an administrative position found himself handicapped because of his lack of knowledge of Chinese procedures, or his lack of acceptance or, at times, because of overacceptance, by the Chinese workers. In some cases he found himself in a situation which was either below his competence or which violated one of the basic principles of UNRRA, which was to "help the Chinese help themselves—provide training in organization, administration, and practice."

In addition to these problems, there was the shortage of secretarial help, the lack of transportation facilities, and inadequate provisions for housing and for obtaining Western food. On the basis of the experience in China these seemingly inconsequential items should be placed very high on the list of essentials, and it is urged that no administrative or technical worker be assigned to a foreign position unless they are fully provided. The cost of foreign personnel is so high that every effort should be made to secure full efficiency. A recognition of some of these factors would go a long way in preventing future difficulties.

7. *Insufficient attention was given to joint planning with the voluntary agencies.*—International welfare planning should provide for appropriate participation and utilization of the experiences and resources of voluntary agencies, both foreign and indigenous or native. The operation of foreign voluntary agencies should be related to existing national and international plans in accordance with the needs of the country. In China the voluntary agencies operated through the Chinese Relief Agencies Clearing Committee. This body served as a clearinghouse for all requests to, and planning by, the voluntary agencies and was the sponsoring and financing agency for coöperative efforts in the field. In the early days of relief operations in China this group assumed the responsibility for "holding operations" until UNRRA and CNRRA were able to move into action. The programs of the voluntary agencies were generally considered

supplemental to the public program, but in some communities the services of these agencies bulked larger than those of CNRRA or other agencies of the government.

The pattern adopted in the UNRRA European operations of seconding, i.e., the loaning of personnel or the use of voluntary agency teams, was discouraged in China. The reasons were: in the case of the seconding of an individual worker, his loyalties were apt to be divided between two organizations; it made for difficulty in administrative relationships; the worker was tempted in some cases to "mend his own fences"; and, in general, he tended to operate outside the CNRRA—UNRRA programs. The reservations concerning the use of the team were that in the first instance there would be a tendency to have a national group operating a service rather than its being under international auspices; and secondly, the usual concept of a team includes the technical as well as the nontechnical personnel, such as truck drivers, orderlies, etc. The group had to be accepted as a team—no questions could be raised concerning the competence of any individual. In China voluntary agencies were requested to grant a leave of absence to a worker who would be required to meet the same personnel standards and would be processed in the same fashion as other UNRRA workers and be completely under the administrative control of the UNRRA office. If this were not practical, the voluntary agency was encouraged to operate a supplemental project and assume all costs of the operation. Under certain conditions UNRRA supplies and equipment were made available without charge to such agencies, but this practice is questionable and requires clear understandings and a high degree of coöperative action.

On the basis of experiences in other countries, it would seem that the policy of the China office was sound and provided a clear distinction in the public's mind between the operations of a public or official agency and those of a voluntary agency and permitted each to make its unique contribution.

8. *It would seem essential that the receiving country should provide sufficient finances for the administrative expenditures required for the distribution of the contributed relief goods.*—Unfortunately, CNRRA had to depend upon the proceeds of the sale of UNRRA goods to meet its administrative expenses, and as a result its sales policy dominated the relief and rehabilitation program. Sale of re-

lief supplies through commercial channels to provide funds for further relief activities was a part of the original concept of UNRRA operations and was carried out in most European countries. In China, however, which has neither price control nor a rationing system, such sales raised many problems. The policy was difficult for the public to understand and resulted in detrimental publicity in both China and the United States. The lack of adequate financing for CNRRA was also detrimental to the establishment of adequate welfare and health programs because its slim financial resources were dissipated in the transportation and distribution of these relief goods, and little or no money was available for qualified personnel and the specialized services which were so badly needed.

9. *Adequate and uniform statistics are essential for planning and administration.*—One of the greatest problems was the almost complete absence of suitable and uniform statistics. Although the organization provided for a minimum of control from the national office, the provincial offices were faced with the same problem in respect to operations within their boundaries. The greatest difficulties were encountered in formulating requirements and allocations and developing a schedule of distribution.

10. *We must accept the fact that the Chinese must work out their own salvation and decide for themselves the extent and the type of assistance which they want from foreign sources.*—It is apparent that we must accept both the situation as it exists in China and our government's policy with respect to that situation. China has had a long history of foreign relief, and much of the assistance has been of great value to the progress which the Chinese people have made during the last five decades. On the other hand, some of this assistance has been harmful because of the stereotyped patterns which have been imposed upon the Chinese and the motives of those who have financed the operations. Professional social workers have a special responsibility to contribute professional knowledge and experience and relate it to the needs of the recipient country. We have a responsibility to keep in close touch with the agencies of our government which are charged with formulating international social policy. We should recognize that we have a responsibility for informing ourselves so that we shall not be misled by the propaganda of vested interest groups or by false reports disseminated by prejudiced and unreliable media. Our action needs to be based on a full aware-

ness of the issues confronting the Chinese people and their efforts to achieve a better life in ways that might be quite different from our own.

Essential to our appreciation of the differences, basic needs, desires, and problems of development in China is humility, which will make possible a real sharing of our goods, services, and experiences. We should not make the mistake of judging welfare practices in China by American standards, but we should attempt to understand the real values which are inherent in Chinese characteristics and in the Chinese mode of living. Vincent Sheean puts it in these words:

Those who are preparing to go to China now, bearing gifts, should prepare also to receive gifts. Although what we have to give to China is great, what we can receive is also great—wisdom which consists of the knowledge of life and the ability to deal with it in a mood of practical, philosophic give and take, in which the accidents of fortune—good or evil—have little power to overwhelm or defeat the mind.¹

¹ Vincent Sheean, "Forecast for America," *This Week*, New York *Herald Tribune*, April 14, 1946, p. 34.

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE AMERICAN FAMILY?

By Margaret Mead

ABOUT THREE YEARS AGO I joined a certain project as a consultant in what was called "culture." I discovered that what was meant in this particular project, which included social work, internal medicine, and psychiatry, was that if a Hungarian or a Czech or a Slovak client should beat his wife, I was to say whether or not that was "culture." At the same time, an American could beat his wife without anybody being the least puzzled. Such an act was attributed to the individual's being neurotic or psychotic; no one worried as to whether his behavior were culturally determined. In time I was able to point out that Americans, as well as Hungarians, have culture, and that not beating one's wife is just as culturally determined as beating her. I think that we have finally established the fact that everybody has a culture. First, we struggled to give the Samoans and Eskimos and Hottentots culture; and then we worked our way up to the Italians and Hungarians and Irish—they had culture. And now we are just about to the point of realizing that we have one too, and that we can examine our own behavior as a systematic pattern, just as we look at that of other people.

I have lived in polygamous communities. I have lived among primitive people whose ideal was monogamy, but where quite a few people were polygamists. There, when a man died, somebody had to look after his widow and children, so a brother or cousin took an extra wife. But each wife continued to act as if the proper formula were monogamy, and life was often a little difficult. I have also lived in communities where, ideally, every man had several wives. However, there were not enough women so that each man could have more than one wife, and so the mild-mannered men usually had just one, while the strong ones had ten or eleven. But in that community the man who had only one wife treated her as though she were one of ten wives, and she behaved that way, too. So that one could see in practice the way in which the ideal influenced the be-

havior of people whose actual practice deviated from that particular ideal.

If we examine the whole primitive world, we learn that the family is an intrinsically tough institution. Only two or three times to our present knowledge have any people succeeded, even apparently, in abolishing the family. There is a tiny island called Mentawai. Each male family head had to be an important religious figure, and was allowed to do no work. Obviously, if he could not do any work, he could not support a wife and children. So a man could not have a family until his children were old enough to do the work so that he would not have to do it. So there was a systematic pattern of life in which no one was officially married until his children were adolescent. The women lived in their parental households. At birth the children were adopted by their maternal grandparents and supported by their maternal uncles. When the children reached adolescence, a man married his wife, adopted his children, and set up housekeeping. That is not really abolition of the family, but it is definite postponement and evasion.

There is a small group of people in southern India who wanted to be rid of the claims of alien men on the women of their households. They used to marry off their girls as quite small children and divorce them the same day. Under their religious laws, women so married and divorced could never marry again. So, the divorced women lived in the homes of their brothers with official lovers who had no family rights, and again the mother's brother brought up the children.

These are almost the only instances in which a society has ever been able really to do away with the family, and of course all that was done was to substitute the mother's brother and the mother's father as the men that looked after the children. That is, in each case there was still a woman who needed a man's protection while she was bringing up small children. One of the really human things about our humanity is the universality with which men have looked after women and children. Among the higher Primates, the male protects the female and the young, but he does not feed them; the pregnant female and the lactating female have to fend for themselves. But in every human society, the male feeds as well as protects the woman with young children.

For the people who feel that the family is in great danger, it is

important to realize what a tough institution it is, and how religious and ethical systems the world over have depended on the family. We often hear that religion is the support of the family, but it is equally true that the family is the support of religion and that religious and ethical systems tie themselves in to this firmest of human institutions.

Although we know that the family has survived conditions a great deal worse than the present housing situation, nevertheless it is fair to say that the American family is in a difficult and critical position. It is important to differentiate the things that have happened to the American family simply because of the war and not confuse them with the indications of a long-time trend. That is hard to do, of course, because what has happened during the war will become part of a trend to a degree, and if we treat wartime events completely separately, we would be falsifying the position.

One of the most significant long-time trends, as seen by an anthropologist, is that of our continued insistence on free choice of marriage partners for both men and women. We can call it free choice, we can call it romantic love, but it puts a premium on choosing a mate in utter disregard of his or her suitability. If we go back two generations, we still find an emphasis on romantic love and on choice. But it did little harm for a man to feel that he could choose from the whole world when he almost always married the girl next door, when what romantic love really meant was that he looked at the ten eligible girls in the community and decided that he loved Susy best. The families of both the boy and the girl lived in the same community. Both families ate the same kinds of food and went to bed at the same time and held the same sets of religious ideas. If a Baptist married a Presbyterian everybody knew how bad that was likely to be, and they girded their loins to deal with the problem. Thus in our older American society, the emphasis on sentimental choice and on marriage for love was comfortably bolstered by common habits, common background, and a large amount of implicit emphasis on suitability. All four parents-in-law were around to poke, and the neighbors were there to poke before and after the marriage, and the marriage was held together very much as it was held together in the countries which had what Americans disapproved of so much, an arranged marriage. True, the American marriage was not arranged in the same sense, and the girl's dowry was not counted,

and the son-in-law did not have to run the gantlet of his father-in-law's approval in quite the same way. Young people thought theirs was a marriage of free choice and of romance, while actually they were contracting a marriage within the same class, the same religious group, the same general occupational picture, and supported by all the old supports that had held up marriage before.

Under those circumstances, families stayed together. Divorce was exceedingly uncommon, and we could go on thinking that marriages were successful in this country and therefore our families were stable, because the marriages were made for love. And we lived right up to the second World War on what has been called "the residue of an age of faith." We lived on a set of practices that were, in a sense, outgrown. We lived on a family structure that was being reproduced in terms of previous generations. And at the same time our young people were taught that the thing to do was to find someone with whom you fell in love hard, and marry him no matter what his religion, no matter what his economic background, and no matter what all the future in-laws might say.

During the second World War a large section of our population did just that. The extensive mobility in this country has finally torn people so far from their roots that we now have probably the largest number of marriages that history has ever known of couples that have no visible reason for ever getting on together, who share no common background whatsoever, who have no common friends, no common past, not even a dog which they can both remember, who married each other sometimes after an acquaintance of only four or five days, and then tried to correspond for two years about two dances and the pattern of the wallpaper in a boarding house. It is incredible that so many marriages have stayed together. We have suddenly come right up against the actual realization of an ideal that we cherished without knowing its significance. We are now in the position of having to do some pretty firm re-evaluating if we are going to keep our marriages steady at all.

The most serious aspect of the divorce rate is not so much the number of divorces as the expectation of divorce. A generation ago a great many people had never seen a divorced woman. And if you have never seen a divorced woman, it is awfully hard to think of yourself as being one. And so a generation ago, even though there were divorce laws reasonably easy to manage, even though people

might believe that a marriage that went on the rocks should end in divorce, nevertheless a great proportion of our young married people were not likely to entertain that possibility in their own lives. Much more common than divorce was the marriage that held together no matter how incompatible were the husband and wife, even if they did not speak a word to each other for twenty years.

For the first time we have a generation of young people who have witnessed, not necessarily in their own homes, a great deal of divorce, who are beginning to think of divorce as something that is done. Twenty-five years ago there was beginning in this country an awareness that marriage was not necessarily for life. It seems to me, as an anthropologist, that the most serious thing that is happening in the United States, the most significantly important, is that people enter marriage now with the idea that it is terminable. Of course, that does not apply to the part of our population that is within the fold of a religious community. It does not apply to our Catholic young people. It does not apply to some of our Protestant young people, especially in rural regions. There is a large proportion to whom it still does not apply, but on the radio, in films, in the magazines, and in our urban secular communities, the idea that marriage is terminable has even permeated the proposal: "Let's try it, and if we don't like it . . ." This expectation permeates every quarrel. It is a background for having children, because "maybe they will hold us together." We have now set up the family, therefore, as a terminable situation.

A great many educational agencies and a great many social agencies continue to act, however, as if the child from a broken home is the completely unusual child, as if every irregular union were a strange phenomenon. We put down "divorce" or "broken home" or "an irregular union" in a case history as an exceedingly unusual factor that in itself might account for almost anything. We have not adjusted to the actual existence of this much more fragile state of the family.

If we assume that what is needed is simply a reaffirmation of the old attitudes without a realization that there has been a real change in American society, and that with our increased mobility a new kind of family is emerging, we retard the recognition and development of some new ethic with which to work. Perhaps one of the most significant words which has appeared in the last ten years is

the word "sitter." Many mature people recall that they used to stay with somebody's baby when they were in high school or college, but there was no word for them then. They were not yet an institution. The bulk of the homes in this country did very well with grandmothers and uncles and aunts and cousins and younger sisters, and we did not need the sitter.

In cities like Oak Ridge the sitter is a social institution that dwarfs almost any other institution in the community. People "sit" in order to get into homes. The people who are living in dormitories and have no home life become sitters in order to lounge in an upholstered chair and look at the fire; and, on the other hand, all the people in homes are trying to get out of them, for at least one evening a week, and get a sitter in. The whole situation is a sharp reminder that the typical American family now consists of a husband and wife and one or more children living in a community where they do not know anyone, where they have no relatives, and where they have no one to depend upon to care for the children in the evening except a sitter who may be psychopathic.

We have built up the picture that in-laws, especially grandmothers, are a menace. The nurse sighs if a grandmother is around when the baby is born. The pediatrician moans when there is a grandmother on the scene. The assumption has been that the family should have no relatives to confuse the issue with their counsel. This has been our ideal for a long time, but fortunately we did not realize it. Now we are beginning to achieve our ideal, and as we do so we are, of course, becoming aware that we cannot ask that type of family to do the kind of things that a family was expected to do in the past. In this country, for instance, we have always expected the members of a family to do most of the nursing of their sick. In the old days the family even buried its own dead, but the neighbors came in and helped to wash the body of the deceased. Today, of course, no one ever sees a dead body if he can help it; we have moved the dead right out of society, and we are getting birth out fairly rapidly, into the hospitals. We are left now with what we call the "facts of life." But we still expect the family, the inexperienced young wife and the inexperienced young husband, to manage its own finances, to handle the children's education and health, to tend the sick, to care for the mildly insane and the defective, and to meet major emergencies. At the lower socio-economic levels there are social

agencies to help them, and at the upper socio-economic levels a few people can still afford service, but for the rest of the country, we now expect a family to achieve alone what no society has ever expected an individual family to accomplish unaided. In effect, we call upon the individual family to do what a whole clan used to do. We put all those demands on the individual family and we make the members of that family feel inadequate if they are unable to discharge those duties.

As we realize the fragility of this small, inexperienced, unsupported, isolated family living in an unfamiliar environment, amid temporary friends and associates, our big problem is to bring in community services to provide the assistance that the larger family used to extend. We can do this much faster if we realize that the family has not suddenly lost its moral fiber, as a lot of people think. We read in the discussions about juvenile delinquency, for instance, that the family has lost its moral fiber when what it has lost is its grandmother. And that is especially true in particular groups in society. When Negro workers, for instance, come North they leave their old people down South, especially the mother's mother, who used to be an important factor in caring for the children. In the migrations to our war towns, too, the young people moved and the older people did not. The family has become smaller and more isolated and less experienced, and the husband and wife are less well adjusted to each other. That is much more true than that some mysterious thing called the "moral fiber" of the family has been lost and with it parental ties to the children.

To the extent that we continue to act as if the family were what it used to be, we compromise our capacity to understand its limitations, and also we delay the development of the community services, the education, and the counseling that we need. For instance, I believe that now Oak Ridge does have a home where children can be cared for when somebody is sick, when the mother is having a baby. It is in a community like Oak Ridge which, par excellence, has no grandmothers in it, that we develop first the services that are needed all over the country to supplement the family, to help this isolated, young family in ways that the family of the past did not need helping.

This terminability of marriage has had another serious effect. It has made women's position exceedingly insecure. Europeans think

that American women are greatly spoiled, and, of course, they are. But a highly educated Polish woman remarked after she had been here a little while, "I wouldn't be an American woman for anything in the world. American women have to work to keep their husbands." We are so used to seeing in the advertisements such promises as, "If you use this kind of soap, your husband will think your hands are still soft." And if we peruse any woman's magazine, we see the endless emphasis on the fact that wives must continue to be charming enough to be rechosen every day before breakfast!

So, in addition to the strain put upon the small family that is supposed to carry its illnesses, its economic ups and downs, its psychological and spiritual pressures, there is the problem of having constantly to work at remaining a family. There is no security, even for the mother of young children. She too is faced every day, according to the advertisements, with the possibility that if she lets herself go, if she gains two more pounds, if she does not keep her stocking seams straight, she will lose her husband.

Several other aspects of this problem are important to social workers. One of them concerns the whole position of the homemaker. "Homemaker," you know, is really a very interesting word that seems to have been invented to describe professional home economists who marry. It is a good word, but it is not a word that we have been able to dignify successfully outside home economics. Today most of our women are homemakers. But many of them describe themselves as "just keeping house," "just staying home," "not doing anything." Of course, the better educated they are, the more they are likely to say that. If a woman has a doctorate and is a homemaker she will definitely say that she is not doing anything. She may be taking care of four children in the country and doing all the family washing, but she will still say that she is not doing anything. Half of our population, the half that is charged most intimately with family life, with its stability, with its tone, with its temper, is somehow robbed in public opinion of dignity. This is a serious situation, and the major seriousness comes, I think, from two factors. This is a country of choice, and just as we have built our marriage pattern on choice, we also build our occupation pattern on choice. The theory is that you decide at the age of eight or ten or eighty what you want to do, and then you go and do it, and if you need a little extra education, you take an extension course, but you get there. You are not

bound to an occupation by your past, by your lack of education, not by what your father was, nor by what your grandfather was. You are free to choose. We have emphasized more than any other people in modern times the importance of choice.

The one group to whom we have given no choice is married women. Of course there are married women who go on with what is called a "career" if a woman has it, even though it might be a "job" if a man had it. They go on, in the face of their own and other people's disapproval, and as they work at their desks they think about the dust under the beds as no man would ever worry about the dust under a bed. They still feel that they ought to be at home brooming and tending to the dust.

Perhaps we can realize the implications of such a course if we consider what it would be like if we said to a young man, "What are you going to do?" And he would say, "I am going to be a lawyer—unless I marry, of course." And we would say, "Why, what difference will that make?" He replies, "Of course, if I marry, I will have to live on a farm. I'd have to give up law." And when we ask, "Why?" he answers, "Oh, because it's good for children to be brought up on a farm." Now, if men had to consider that they could have one way of life if they did not marry, and another way of life if they did marry, and ways of life as different as being a farmer and being a lawyer, they might think twice about getting married, and they would certainly not feel that they had free choice. That is really women's position. Women in our society are still a status group; if they marry, certain sorts of behavior are expected from them. I do not at all think that most married women do not want to stay at home, but I do think that most married women would like not to have it taken quite so for granted that they should stay home. If they were given a choice, most of them would stay at home. In a recent *Fortune* survey, in answer to the question to women, "If you were born again, what sex would you like to be?" 25 percent of the women, one out of four, said, "a man." A society is not very stable when one out of four of one sex wants to be of the opposite sex, and it is not a very stable family life in which the carriers of that family life are the people who would like to have, obviously, carried it in another way.

It is serious that we have not solved the problems of choice for married women. We have presented the illusion of choice so effec-

tively to all men that women feel deprived because they do not have it also. Of course, men do not have anything like the choice they think they do, but they think they have it, and that is what is important.

Another serious difficulty for the homemaker is that she can no longer see tangible results of what she does. In the past the housewife did a lot of canning. She made the children's clothes. She baked the bread. She did big, conspicuous things, material things that she could point to, things that the neighbors could point to. Today, if a woman in an urban home has really been successful as a mother for a week, it means that nothing tangible has happened at all. The modern woman's life, in which she gets one child here and another child there, and gets the laundry in and the laundry out, the electrician in and the plumber in, and goes shopping here and shopping there, and leaves this here and gets that from there all day long, leaves her with nothing to say at the end of the day except that she got through it. She has shifted her position from being a producer to being an integrator and organizer of consumption, and we have no standards for appreciating and judging this new role. Most American women are still up against the old standards which called for showing that something has been accomplished, and yet they can no longer boast of large numbers of children, and we have no standards of pride and self-esteem and self-respect for the homemaker which make it possible for the woman on whom family life depends to be as contented and as secure as she deserves to be.

There have been a great many attacks lately on women. Women have been attacked by the psychiatrists, who found that a lot of boys in the army were not ready to leave home. Nobody had expected that they would have to leave home so early, and our weaning system was not adjusted to the demands of the army. And since the men in this country are reared by women, the women were blamed. Most of what is good in children and most of what is bad are due to their mothers, because the mothers bring them up, and the fathers do not. To the extent that we are re-evaluating the maturity of our adolescents and the behavior of our children, we are bound to find a heavy barrage against women because we put such a heavy burden on them.

It is understandable that we should have come to lay such an excessive burden on mothers in this country. In the pioneer days of

America a woman had to assume a great deal more responsibility than did the women in old and stable countries of Europe. The American pioneer man wanted a wife who was capable of providing hospitality to the settlers as they came through in the covered wagons, of fending off the Indians if necessary, staying alone for weeks, and looking after the property in his absence. Here was built up the standard of organizing, responsible, and rugged womanhood.

Then, when large numbers of non-English-speaking people began coming to this country and had to learn as adults how to live in America, the men had quite enough to do to learn how to support themselves and their families, and all the details of daily living were turned over to the women. Thus the women became the arbiters of home life and of consumption standards far more than they had been in the countries from which they had come.

So, a variety of perfectly understandable historical reasons has turned the responsibilities of parenthood over to women in this country, but not without serious consequences. One of the most far-reaching consequences is the demand that women combine motherliness with discipline. That is difficult and, to some extent, contradictory. After all, motherly behavior is responsive. You think, "The baby is hungry. I will feed him." He initiates, you go toward him. In a disciplinary, dominating type of behavior you initiate, you give the order, you tell the child to stop or to start, and he stops and he starts. In one case the mother is responsive to the child, and in the other case the mother is disciplinary and restrictive and punitive. That is a difficult combination to achieve, much more difficult than when the discipline was lodged in the father and the responsiveness in the mother. We assign both characteristics to the mother's role, and to that extent we have made women's role difficult. We have made it necessary for them to say, "mother loves you better than anyone in the world," and, "you had better get 'A'!" In most European countries, a mother could love the child whether he got "A" or not, and father could discipline him on matters like school marks. There was a balance that was easier to manage than the American balance.

Furthermore, the mother has had to do all the weaning of the children. She has had to keep them at home and push them off simultaneously. It has not been a question of the father taking over the children, of schoolmasters taking over the boys, of a men's so-

ciety taking over the boys. The schoolteacher is a woman too, and the mother has had to push the child off and off and off: "You are old enough to go to bed by yourself"; "You are too old to sit on mother's lap"; "You are old enough to do this and that and the other"—pushing, pushing, pushing the child away. When the person who is supposed to love him best keeps pushing a child away, there is a basic contradiction. So, we have asked American mothers to do something which is quite difficult. I think it is important, not only to realize how difficult it has been, but also to foster every attempt to get fathers into the home.

The role of the father is one on which there is genuine disagreement between American women and American men. As the 1946 *Fortune* survey showed, more American women would like their husbands to take greater part in the discipline and rearing of the children than there are American men who would like to do so. At the same time there is a trend in the contemporary American family for young fathers to do more for their children than fathers have ever done before. This is partly due to the fact that the returning veteran finds that his baby is more interesting and exciting than it might have seemed if he had been home from the time of its birth.

As we move into the five-day week, free Saturday mornings are appearing all over the country, unpre-empted by church or state or golf club. Here is a situation that should interest every person who is concerned with changing the tone or pattern of our culture. Nobody knows what a man *ought* to do on Saturday morning. Saturday morning is one fourteenth of the week; if every American father spent one fourteenth of the week with his children, the American family would present a very different picture from what we have now. We have the opportunity before a pattern freezes, before some commercialized interest gets hold of Saturday morning, to set Saturday morning up as father's morning. A large number of young fathers would like to do just that; for they have realized, partly through the separation of the war years, that if they could see more of their children, they would be able to make more of their family life. This is a promising, positive trend in American life, something that we can grasp as a means of bringing the younger fathers, particularly, into the home.

We need also a new ethic for family life. We need a new valuation of family life for the secularized people in our society. After all, we

have, out of our total population, 65,000,000 church members in this country, and that is a generous count. In many denominations the census includes all the christened children regardless of their church attendance or church interest. We have an increasing number of people who are unrelated to any sort of religious sanction or to any sort of ethical judgment as to why they should do one thing rather than another, why they should stay married instead of being divorced, why they should bring up their children rather than desert them. To these people the family has no definite value, no ethical role, as it had in our older culture and as it must have in every culture if it is going to survive.

One of the values that we can give young people in schools, give people who are struggling with the question of why they should keep on with their marriage, is a sense of the importance of a family in which the father and mother respect each other and yet may disagree in the bringing up of whole individuals in a democracy. Early in the twenties Russia experimented with marriage and the family as an institution on the general theory that the family was an outworn, bourgeois institution, but they seem to have found, even with all the ideology that would have supported another position, no other way to produce responsible human beings who would grow up and marry and have children themselves. They now re-enforce the family very heavily.

We know no other way to produce whole human beings than through the family, and we know no other way to produce "democratic" human beings—the kind who can tolerate the two-party system. Toleration of the two-party system is based on the experience gained when father says "yes" and mother says "no" about the same thing. It is interesting to learn that the typical German character may be traced back to the family structure where somebody dominated, and it did not have to be father. There were families in which the mother dominated, it was the domination that was important, and the children felt safe in the resulting environment. In America we bring up children to feel safe in a world where father likes this and mother likes that, where the parents vote for different candidates, where one week mother supports the boy's desire for a bicycle and the next week father supports his plea to go fishing, where two people whom he loves and respects disagree with each other. Out of this picture grows the kind of character which can tolerate and respect

disagreement. We know of no other way of producing such a character save in a family form in which women are accorded a reasonably high level of respect, the right to their own opinions, and a capacity to stand up to their husbands without quarreling and without giving the children a sense of insecurity.

People of all ages are asking today what is the relationship between their personal lives and their personal choices, and between the personal lives and personal choices of their neighbors, their clients, their patients, their students, and the great crisis that faces the human race. For this is the greatest crisis, perhaps, since a small group of prehistoric men wandered north with fire that they knew how to keep but knew not how to make. The relationship between family structure and coherent personality and citizenship, and faith in the continuance of the human race, is something which we can stress for the very young and for those who are beginning family life at a period which is fearfully unrewarding in its prospects for stability and for continuance. But if we recognize the extent to which the present situation is partly temporary and partly a function of the whole world crisis, if we tie in personal choices to the possibility of people feeling strong enough and optimistic enough to go on, and if we recognize the extent to which the family has changed, and the sort of support it needs, we may be able to develop an ethic appropriate to the new and fragile family forms that we have in this country today.

THE ECONOMIC DILEMMA, 1947

By Leon Henderson

IT IS POSSIBLE TO TAKE THE POSITION that the transition from war to peace economics could have been achieved without a major dislocation in production and employment. What troubles the analyst is that there are always discontinuities, that there are periods in which there is a distinct break with the past. Some of the events of 1946 seem to indicate that there had been a discontinuity, or at least that if this society had wished, it could have accomplished a break with the past. The economic soothsayers of 1945 and 1946 were relying on what I call the "almanac" method of forecasting. They were reviewing the situation after the first World War and undertaking to say that we would follow that same pattern; that we would have a period of strain on the economy, followed shortly by a break in prices and severe unemployment. That forecast did not come true because a number of forces made the transition easier. There was a period following the Baruch-Hancock report in which some of the transitional phases of reconversion were considerably expedited. I have always maintained that if other factors, say the human factors of reconversion, had been given the same assiduous attention, we could have had a relatively easy transition.

At the beginning of 1946 a long-awaited goal was in sight. A siege of unemployment that had seemed to be almost chronic, almost indissoluble in the face of all efforts, had disappeared, and it was possible even at that time to believe in 60,000,000 jobs without being called an ivory-towered theorist completely out of touch with the realities of life. The production of civilian goods was on the upturn. The price level, despite serious political-business assassination threats, was still under control, as were the scarce materials. It looked as though we would make good our pledge of providing housing for veterans. There was a considerable amount of reconversion spending. Businesses were increasing plants and equipment, easily financed because of generous tax treatment. Exports were in large volume, and the difference between the value of the imports and the value of our exports was financed by balances accumulated by countries

who sold us their raw materials during the war, and could not spend their funds, plus a reasonable amount of foreign lending. Government expenditures were still stimulating the economy. There was a small deficit, but the approach of a balanced budget was in sight. The pipelines of inventory were voraciously hungry for goods. And then there came a national policy declaration in the form of the Full Employment Act whereby it seemed as if the legislature, responding to the desires of the majority, had said, "Comes a crisis again, your government will not sit idly by. The government is dedicated to the thesis of utilizing its special efforts and services for the maintenance of full employment."

And now here we are in 1947. The gross national production is well above \$200,000,000,000. I can remember the midthirties, when I was dreaming of an America that sometime would in one year, perhaps, create goods and services to the value of \$100,000,000,000. There is now almost overemployment in the economic sense, there is a very satisfactory level of business investment, and the government is balancing its cash budget. Here I want to be sure that I am understood. There is a possibility that so far as the cash intake is concerned, the government in the current fiscal year will take in \$8,000,000,000 more than it has paid out, if tax collections and expenditures run as they are indicated today, even with a budget of \$37,500,000,000. In other words, the government has a certain amount of latitude, in case it sights economic distress at home or abroad. Profits, embarrassingly high, are at an all-time peak.

Why, then, are we scared? Why are we uneasy? Why is it that the prophets of doom have captured attention?

Well, consumer credit has expanded about \$5,000,000,000, and the businessmen who sell on installment credit are hammering at Congress to be relieved from all restraints on consumer credit even though we are still in a period of rather vigorous inflation.

I have been known as a "purchasing power" economist. I believe that the tranquillity of our business activity depends on the sustained maintenance of a high level of purchasing power. The so-called "Keynesian theories" have been under severe attack by the orthodox economists, the classicists. Bank economists and the rather conservative *Journal of Commerce* say that there is a gap between purchasing power available and the price of goods in the market amounting to something like fifteen or twenty billion dollars, that

prices are 21 percent too high to support the level of national income and production. In other words, prices are much, much too high. To put it another way: We have a national income of \$185,000,000,000. That income can support the current level of production, or it can support a price level of about 150 in the wholesale index, which is about double what it was before we began to feel the impact of war. But, says the *Journal of Commerce*, it cannot support both. It can support a price level, or it can support the level of production. What they are saying in effect, is that despite the fact that we are at the highest level of employment and production this country has ever known, we are running at a deficit of fifteen to twenty billion dollars; that people who create business by their purchases are short something like fifteen billion dollars of being able to keep up both the higher level of profits and the high level of employment.

The price level is a peculiar thing. It was possible, as I said, to visualize an easy transition from war to peace if we had kept the Office of Price Administration and the other controls. Since their liquidation the price level has gone up about 35 percent. And people are wondering what became of those promises made by business and by the real estate organizations that if we were just rid of this octopus of bureaucratic control, free competition would take care of everything. It has taken care of things to the point that we have the embarrassment of being so wealthy that we must have a sort of a taking over of the company and a bit of reorganization.

What has been the Congressional program? Has it been in tune with the needs of the community? I would say that for the most part it has been illiberal. But, particularly, granted all the forecasts of doom, the general understanding that we are headed for recession, most of the Congressional action has been against purchasing power and certainly deflationary. We probably could have weathered some of the things that were done, but let us look at the future program of the majority in control of the legislative processes. Congress is using the threat of labor legislation to prevent real collective bargaining in some of our major industries. It is well recognized that there has been no general wage increase since the first quarter of 1946, that profits have reached an all-time high level, and that wages could be raised. Most people would prefer that prices be reduced, but certainly, if we considered letting prices run, and we wanted to

keep a certain balance, there would be no reason why labor should not have the right to get the same effect from its bargaining power as business is getting in the so-called "free market." It is proposed also either to abolish rent control entirely or to raise the levels by at least 10 percent. Excise taxes have been continued, and excise taxes fall most heavily on purchasing power. There are proposals of budget cuts, but those cuts will not amount to \$6,000,000,000 or even \$4,500,000,000. Congressman John Taber, of New York, and his associates have worked their way through several departmental budget proposals and have made little real saving. What is expected, of course, is that by using this power of the purse, they will be able, without repeal of the social legislation of the last twelve years, to deny the continuance of those laws and by the starvation process to prevent their operation.

The International Bank, which was expected to take care of crises in foreign governments, has been put on a truly banking basis; that is, an applicant must have good banking credit to take advantage of its facilities. There has been caution about expanding the United Nations agencies such as the International Food and Agriculture Organization. There have been proposals, not to reduce tariffs, but to raise them, and also to end the reciprocal trade program. There has been niggardliness in foreign relief. As for the proposal to reduce income taxation—the 20 percent cut across the board with the sop of 30 percent thrown in for the lowest income brackets—that is especially prepared for wealthy savers and rich hoarders.

Far from halting a growing recession, far from preventing deflation, these items, which constitute the major program of Congress today, are deflationary. They would have, in my opinion, an accelerating effect on any business downturn.

Above all, there has been what we might call a shift in sentiment—I usually call it sabotage, but that may be too harsh a word—about the Full Employment Act. The Full Employment Act provides for something like planning, and "planning" is a naughty word. They do not like that word in places of high power in Washington. They do not dare to come out on the floor of Congress with a bill to repeal the Full Employment Act, but by delay, by inattention, it is being negated. What else could we expect? A group that is dedicated to the idea that the way to get prices down is to remove controls can-

not be expected to have any interest in even a slight suggestion of democratic planning to head off a recession.

This condition of affairs has put the Truman Administration in a dilemma. It may not get out of this dilemma until we have a crash, or until 1948. The big dilemma is this: Given all these errors—the abolition of price control, the abolition of the excess profits tax, crucifying of the housing program, together with proposals for the future—is there enough strength in the American economy so that when the recession comes, we will be able to ride through it without too much distress? There are people, of course, who think that it would be healthy to have a little bit of a recession, just a teensy-weensy one, you know. They speak of it as “economic catharsis.” I can tell you what that means. It means that people who were out of work would not be talking about a strike, and it means that people who are interested in getting prices down might keep their mouths shut. I served through one of those. I would rather do a little bit of democratic planning to head it off, but we are not supposed to mention “planning.” Immediately there is conjured up the idea that, perhaps, we propose to embark on something similar to the English plan of control, or perhaps to pattern after Sweden, which has done an extraordinarily good job of sustaining relatively high employment in a period of violent fluctuation. No, planning as it was contemplated under the Full Employment Act means simply that when we saw the little clouds no bigger than a man’s hand that would produce unemployment, they would be taken care of immediately. As I remember the phrase, if we took care of the first million of unemployed, we would not have to take care of the second million. That thought seems to have been forgotten. The Administration is in a dilemma because it does not have voting power in Congress, and I am not quite sure as to how wholeheartedly they are devoted to the Full Employment Act.

It is my guess that President Truman’s Council of Economic Advisers does not believe that we will have a major disaster in 1947. Therefore, there is no definite publicized program as to how to handle a recession. It was always intended that there would be wide and democratic discussion so that people would understand how they could support proposals, so that they would take some part in the determinations of antidepression measures. The advisers talk about

"cushions." Now, there is another interesting word. That means that there are things that, when prices fall, will help sustain the shock. The advisers say that people have savings and so do businesses, and then the Unemployment Compensation Act will take care of some people. And if the price of housing comes down, maybe people will buy. I am not so sure. There is only one-third as many applications for permits to build houses as there were last year at this season, and yet this is the period in which people make such applications. There is always talk about sustained demand. We have seen three buying periods come and go, during which we were assured that the demand for homes was so pressing that millions of new housing units were inevitable. What happens when houses get priced out of an individual's market? The prospective buyers retire, and when the prices break, there is unemployment, and people do not make the long-range commitments for homes that involve some assurance of continued employment.

I do not believe in a housing cushion. I do believe that some cushion will be provided by current wage increases and by the fact that there are 15,000,000 unionized workers who can put up a greater amount of economic resistance to wage cuts than when we faced depression before. I believe, furthermore, that there is a cushion in that the government has promised the farmer a certain amount of price underwriting. Another cushion is the world demand for goods. What that means is that people are hungry all over the world and they will have to buy from us. There is also the financial cushion of a low interest rate. These are some of the cushions.

I think the President knows, I think that most business organizations know, I think the experts in the Council of Economic Advisers know that the present price level is unsupportable. I think they know, too, that when that price level breaks, as it probably will before the end of 1947, it will not stop at some level which was previously manageable, but it will go lower. Despite what inflation does through high prices to people of fixed income and of low income, the real damage caused by inflation is the devastation of deflation. Deflation is the pay-off period. I think the reason why many people in high places in government are scared is that they know we made a terrible decision when we abolished price controls. The government has a program of price reduction: exhortation. The government is

not saying, "If you don't reduce prices, something unpleasant will happen to you." When we could control prices without a law, industries did not raise their prices, for they believed something would happen to them if they did.

There is a newfangled theory in recent years called "monopolistic competition." There is talk about administered prices. There is talk about the increasing concentration of business enterprise. We found out in the Temporary National Economic Commission that there were about two hundred industries in which the control resided within a small number of concerns, and whether they wanted it or not, there was a certain amount of administration over their prices. Many measures that are being taken now to support prices are illegal. The possibility of doing anything to violators by means of the Anti-Trust Act is very remote, and would have little to do with halting a recession. But the important thing is this: when the government, through the President or the Secretary of the Treasury, asks industry generally in public or specifically in private to reduce prices, it is recognizing that monopolistic competition does prevail in most of the leading American industries, that we do not have a free market. The government is saying, in effect, that there are centers of control over product and price that have come about by reason of the concentration of business in two or three concerns, that these are always aware of the actions that they take as to the effect on their prices, that they are not subject to the same kind of influence that affects, say, the wheat market, or any of the commodity markets. The government recognizes monopolistic competition, and begs it to behave.

The theorists are having a field day now in another area. There are those who say that if the government expands its credit, there will be a boom and then a bust. Then there are others who say that there is a purchasing power deficit. That is what the *Journal of Commerce* is saying. *Time* reviewed a serious book written by two fellows, Dewey and Dakin,¹ who have been studying cycles for a long time. Dewey and Dakin tell us that nothing can be done to avoid the long-time cycle, the short-time intermediate cycle, or the impact of the building cycle. There is nothing that we can do because

¹ Edward R. Dewey and Edwin F. Dakin, *Cycles: the Science of Prediction* (New York: Holt, 1947).

it is all controlled by sunspots. Somebody will come along now with a proposal to control sunspots, of course, just as men have tried to repeal the law of averages a couple of times!

The sensational fact is that nothing has been done as yet by any country or any society to prevent what we call the "business cycle," the boom and bust. Nothing has been done as yet, and our dilemma is whether or not we shall make that effort. I maintain that people who are equipped with free choice can escape from this predestination; it is possible, if not completely to iron out the fluctuations of business activity, to ameliorate them and to prevent them from doing fatal damage to our political and economic structure. I admit that when we get to the question of "plan or no plan," we have a new cluster of choices. I shall never be afraid of a new cluster of choices as long as the democratic process for making those choices still exists, as long as the mechanism of review of their constitutionality is still available, as long as there is the power of public opinion to affect actions. In order to plan, we must reject automaticity. Automaticity is what the business organizations promised in 1946: "If you will only get rid of OPA, we will take care of reducing prices." That was supposed to be automaticity. We must reject that if we want to believe that we are in some control of our economic destiny. And we must take at least one faltering step away from Adam Smith and the theory of *laissez faire*.

Such planning does involve some questions of political choices, though it does not involve any new third party. It does involve a question of what shall be the area of government and its place in our life. I can offer some measure of that area: \$35,000,000,000. That is the best estimate of government expenditures for the coming year. It is about one sixth of the gross national production, since the total amount which we will produce may be in the neighborhood of two hundred and ten billion dollars. Our government is making choices today, it does have a theory of the business cycle. We are relying in the main on automaticity—the theory that things will take care of themselves. I suggest that the government choose its spending now so as to avoid unemployment.

Are there any new tools? Any new economic weapons? Or are we left with only what they thought about in the eighteenth century in France and in the time of Adam Smith? I do not believe so. During the tragic period of the thirties we did find out a few

things. Our society did abandon *laissez faire*, and it found that—well, let us consider briefly the Public Utilities Holding Company Act. The utilities are in better shape than before its passage. If there is any serious challenge to their property rights, the courts are still open, and the courts are still making decisions. It was predicted that we would enter a period of totalitarianism through the Securities and Exchange Act, but I do not notice that any great revolution has occurred.

Another prewar event was that labor began to find an economic power that was commensurate with the power of those whom it met at the bargaining table. It would be unnatural to assume that labor will not turn to greater demonstrations of economic power, and the big challenge then will be as to whether or not the exercise of that power is in our tradition.

During the war we added some new tools to our kit. For example, I remember that in 1940 a leading New York paper said it would be impossible for the United States to conduct all-out war because the volume of debt could not be expanded, that if an attempt were made, the interest rate would go to 7 or 8 percent. The interest rate is now the lowest in history. We have developed a central banking mechanism which is almost adequate to our governmental financial needs.

We found out something, too, about the Keynesian theory. My contention during the unemployment of the tragic thirties was that we never were willing to spend enough to put people back to work. It was always considered that we should worry only about those unemployed above 6,000,000. We were talking about mass unemployment. There were no individuals. There were no people, really, without work. There was a mass, a lump, and we just did nothing about that. The war came along. We spent many billions of dollars and found that we could have full employment. We added this small tool for use in the postwar period.

We have added to our kit some international organizations, like FAO and the International Bank, that ought to be helpful. We have some understanding about the world supply of raw materials. Productivity of labor has increased. In 1946 the reason advanced as to why we could do nothing about wages was that worker productivity was so low. We have heard nothing about that recently; the statistics no longer show it. Labor has been producing more and producing it more efficiently, and we have found that if we run at

a high level of activity even in peacetime, we can produce goods for less.

Above all, however, we have found that the government does have an enormous effect on business activity through its budget: the choices expressed by \$35,000,000,000 withdrawn from the people, and \$35,000,000,000 of expenditure can make or break business activity.

The conflict between orthodoxy and the new economic thought is still the dilemma for the economist. This is the unresolved controversy, the contention between those who uphold the classical free economy, *laissez faire*, free market thesis, and those who believe that because the government is making a greater series of choices all the time, it can direct its income and outgo in such a way as to create business activity. At the present time the politicians back of the theorists have shifted. Somewhere in November of 1946 there was a political shift, and it made quite a bit of difference. The classical theorists can now begin to talk about the inequities of the income tax. They cannot talk about its constitutionality, but they can talk about its modification. They can talk about taxation for revenue only. They can talk about labor monopoly, and they can hint that in a republican form of government it is not always wise to have the political power rest with the majority. Congress, I would say, is distinctly *laissez faire* in its outlook right now. The dilemma will concern what it does in crisis. Late in 1947 the "sixty-four-dollar question" is going to be whether we arrive at our choice by reason of crisis or whether we make it a definite free-will choice of our own. That will make a lot of difference in handling a crisis because the *laissez faire* attitude would let a recession wear itself out, let crises find their level so that we could get a new economic start. If that is the political philosophy back of the choices that are made, then anything that is done by way of fortification of purchasing power is bound to be inadequate, as it was in the thirties. It is bound to be done with reluctance, and it is bound to be done without the wholehearted support that is necessary if any national policy is to be successful. The year 1947 will focus the thought on this, and it will be a matter, too, of what the liberals think. Most liberals believe in a mixed economy, which means neither a completely free market type of society, nor a controlled one. Most of them believe in a welfare economy. The term "welfare economy" can become synonymous with

some of the other catchwords, and I suggest that we pay attention to it. It is possible in a mixed economy to have the political democratic choices in which the freedom of the individual is still maintained, and still have a competitive, private profit system of enterprise. Furthermore, I believe it is possible, and here I differ with the prophets of doom, so to utilize those choices that we can contest the "boom-and-bust" psychology.

There are certain things that have to be faced. One of them is concentration of economic power. We cannot long escape from the growth of monopoly. The antitrust law is not enough; the threat of punishment is not enough, and it is antiquated in government's relations to business. Breaking concentrated industries down into individual units is not enough. The possibility of recapturing the old small-enterprise system is remote. A pretense that there are now enough small businesses to provide competition is a sham. The government occasionally considers its relationship to the 200 concentrated industries. Some say a new National Recovery Administration is being considered. I doubt it. But it is inevitable that if we do reach an economic crisis by reason of the break in prices, the government must consider its relationship to all the major industries. Liberal thought must go much further than it has ever gone in the past. It must go far beyond any question of the New Deal philosophy, or the Woodrow Wilson philosophy, or even the 1924 platform of the Progressives. It is about time that we thought of something else in regard to the relations of government to business. The possibilities of regulation, the alternative of quasi-public corporations, of coöperatives, of public ownership, of a limitation on growth and a limitation of the exercise of economic power by any group of industries, or even Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney's proposal for Federal charters should be considered.

It is possible to think, too, of a superbudget in which all the government's fiscal and monetary relations are considered together. I believe that as a prevention of boom and bust, a consideration of a superbudget, tied in with the President's Council of Economic Advisers, and with a Congressional counterpart, could choose as to governmental expenditures and government receipts to fortify consumer purchasing power. I believe taxation can be used for fortifying purchasing power, that in a period of declining business activity we could raise personal exemptions and leave more money for those who

spend it for groceries and clothing, and thus maintain business activity. I believe it is possible to manage the debt so that it does not have an effect on business activity, either on the upswing or the downswing. I believe that we can take all our loan funds together and ponder whether they will add to inflation or whether they will retard deflation. I think that we can have agricultural supports that are geared to business activity, and the question will not then be one of scarcity, but one of abundance. I think we can time our public works and government stockpiling. I think, above all, that the government can exert a tremendous influence upon the business cycle through what it does in housing. I believe that we can expand unemployment compensation and social security. I believe the time has come to consider whether expenditures for education and for health cannot be tied up properly with the maintenance of full employment.

So, when I say that there are proposals which will let us have a welfare economy, I mean that it is possible by the choice and timing of our expenditures, and the inclusiveness of our social security, to prevent purchasing power from disappearing. Suppose we had a superbudget, and suppose we considered our expenditures in relation to what they would do to purchasing. There would then be a contest by business for the consumer's dollar. There would be no necessity for a state budget, such as Russia uses, for determining what is to be made at what price and who shall work at the making. There would be no necessity for a socialized state such as Great Britain has, but instead there would be a competitive system that would be almost self-balancing. The decisions would continue to be made in the same way by our elected representatives. These decisions would be reviewable through the courts and our standard institutions. In short, I believe we can have a responsible capitalism that meets the needs of the modern world, and that we do not necessarily have to be afraid in the time of high employment. This is a dilemma. It is particularly a dilemma for people who are traditionally independent and progressive. Of course, there are fears. Professor Edward S. Corwin has opened up a number of new ideas in his recent book, *Total War and the Constitution*,² as to whether or not constitutional guarantees to civil rights can be suspended under the threat of war. He comes to the conclusion, which I believe is correct, that that is pos-

² Edward S. Corwin, *Total War and the Constitution* (New York: Knopf, 1947).

sible. Given the awful suddenness of atomic warfare, that question of individual guarantees, the question of suspension of rights, the question of the place of the State in the individual's life becomes acutely important. And so, when I say that it is possible for the government to take democratic steps to maintain a competitive capitalism, and to maintain itself as a democratic institution, I am thinking in terms of what the threat always is to the individual. It seems that only in periods of great stress is there a rallying of independent thought. To my mind, the pervasiveness of government in everybody's life is such that the only way to escape from this dilemma, whether in 1947 or in 1948, is through intelligent and persistent participation in political action. We are potential masters of our fate, we have instrumentalities, we are using them every day, and it is possible, with as great an intervention in our lives as the government now maintains, to exercise intelligent choices. Will we do it?

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

By Julius A. Thomas

A GOOD MANY YEARS AGO, some enterprising and not too honest Englishmen, Spaniards, and early Americans concluded that more money could be made if there were an abundance of cheap labor. This happened long before the gadget era, when most of the work done in the world depended upon back-breaking toil. Slave labor was the answer, and thousands of Negroes were uprooted from their native soil and transported to this bright new land of freedom. These slaves tilled the soil, built the roads, constructed the homes, and performed the thousand and one chores demanded of them by the luxury-loving, leisurely living landowners of the South.

As America grew and prospered, men of other lands found their way to its shores. From Europe, Asia, and the islands of the seas they came in ever increasing numbers, for here was opportunity—freedom, and a chance to build and grow with the New World. Neither class nor caste counted very much as we cleared the forests, spanned the country with railroads, and dug into the bowels of rich mountains and valleys for gold, silver, and useful minerals. These were the lush days of empire builders, sudden wealth, and equally sudden bankruptcy.

With the passing years, the slaves were freed, and we abruptly halted the flow of immigration. We were rapidly becoming overpopulated, we decided. There would not be enough jobs to go around if too many job-hungry people from other lands continued to enter the country. Meanwhile, our economy was becoming more complicated. Our ingenuity knew no bounds as we moved from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The cotton gin, the steamboat, electrical power, machines and more machines soon ushered in the mechanical age.

As our economic processes became more involved, there were more and varied jobs to be done. Some jobs paid more wages. Others had more prestige. Still others required more skill. In the distribu-

tion of these jobs it was necessary to regulate or control the number of persons employed in them. Arbitrarily, we decided that the more desirable, better paying jobs should be reserved for native white Americans. The more unattractive, laborious jobs were left to other Americans. Negroes, for example, inherited the unskilled labor and domestic service. Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, Chinese, and a few Japanese were permitted to hold jobs as servants, waiters, cooks, and menials. We argued, although not very convincingly, that these people are suited by temperament to perform these tasks easily and efficiently. We even deceived ourselves into believing that most of them were happier in these jobs than they would be if employed in more exacting tasks.

Having made this decision, we consumed much time and energy in measuring such changes in the pattern as occurred over the years. This is where racial bookkeeping enters the picture. If the books are accurate, we have succeeded admirably in our original purpose. After eighty years of "freedom," the vast majority of Negroes find it extremely difficult to obtain employment outside the traditional role they have filled in our economy. In 1940, for instance, 77 percent of the 2,900,000 gainfully employed Negro males in the labor force were unskilled workers and agricultural laborers. Of the 1,500,000 gainfully employed female Negro workers, 70 percent were in domestic and personal service.

By contrast, the number of Negroes engaged in clerical, sales, and related occupations in 1940 was almost negligible. For instance, only 2,127 Negro women were bookkeepers out of a total of 448,359 in this occupation. There were 4,110 Negro stenographers among 998,000 in this occupation; 259 telephone operators in the total of 189,002; 6,549 other clerical workers among 690,379 so employed; and 5,280 saleswomen out of 724,223. In these fields the position of Negro men was even worse. There were 907 male bookkeepers among 447,606; 467 stenographers out of 68,805; 35 telegraph operators out of 31,554; 16,470 other clerical workers among 1,256,689 in this field.

In other commercial and technical employment the absence of Negroes amounted to almost total exclusion from this segment of our economy. Even in the professions, an area which has attracted a large percentage of Negroes able to finance the required training, the number is distressingly small. There were less than 4,000 Negro physicians among the 166,000 in the country; there were only 1,500

dentists among 75,000; 1,000 lawyers among 175,261, and 8,000 nurses among 370,000 persons in this occupation. In only two professional fields were Negroes represented in any substantial numbers—school-teaching and the ministry.

During the war years the position of Negro and other minority group workers improved. About a million Negroes were added to the work force, the majority of them in the manufacturing industries. They were employed mainly because the nation could not successfully meet its labor requirements without them. And in spite of the urgent demand for labor, it required an Executive Order, issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, to convince many producers of war equipment that discrimination against Negroes and other minorities would not be countenanced. The majority of Negro workers employed in war industries were unskilled, but before the war ended, many of them had been trained to perform semiskilled and, in some instances, highly skilled jobs. A survey conducted by the National Urban League in 1944 revealed that half of the 100,000 Negro workers employed in 265 war plants were classified by management as semiskilled and skilled workers.

The number of Negro workers in government service increased tremendously between 1941 and 1945, reaching a total of almost three hundred thousand by the end of 1944. Before the war there were 60,000 Negroes in Federal Government service. Of this total, almost 90 percent were in the lowest job and income categories. By 1944, however, 60 percent of the total were classified as clerical, technical, and supervisory workers. The regrettable fact about the employment of Negroes in emergency government jobs is that they are now being dropped from Federal pay rolls at an alarming rate, and they are not being employed in continuing government agencies. A recent survey of government agencies in Washington revealed that twelve agencies had clerical and other jobs for white workers, but none for Negroes.

It is almost two years since the war ended. By now the reconversion process is nearly completed. Present employment policies are likely to stand, or to advance at a painfully slow pace, unless there are strong forces working to change them. What has happened to the wartime gains in employment? What new trends have we observed?

Before answering these questions, I think it should be noted that the level of peacetime employment since V-J Day has equaled and,

at times, even exceeded the highest wartime levels. This has occurred despite the predictions of most economists that we should expect at least six million unemployed workers by 1947. The displacement of Negro war workers, serious as it was, has not been accompanied by widespread unemployment among them. This statement should be qualified, however, by the additional observation that unemployment among Negroes has increased rapidly since January of 1947. An estimated five hundred thousand Negroes are now unemployed.

Sharing in the continued high level of economic activity, Negroes have held on surprisingly well to many of their wartime gains. In heavy metals, automobile manufacturing, electrical appliances, chemicals, radio manufacturing, and most of the service occupations, Negroes are better represented today than at any time before the war. In the expanding commercial and distributive fields, some gains have been noted, and new patterns of racial employment are slowly being formed. It is significant, therefore, that such companies as the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the New York Telephone Company, R. H. Macy Company, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, and other progressive concerns in New York and New Jersey are now employing Negro switchboard operators, clerks, sales people, cashiers, stenographers, and typists. In the past two years the Michigan, New England, Minnesota, and Pacific Bell systems have announced new racial employment policies permitting the employment of Negroes in a wider range of jobs. Within the last two years department stores in Newark, Boston, Hartford, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and Milwaukee have begun to employ Negroes as sales people and in other jobs customarily closed to them.

It is also worth noting that Negroes are now employed as operators and conductors on buses, subways, and streetcars in Detroit; Cleveland; Newark, New Jersey; Pittsburgh; Chicago; New York; Los Angeles; San Francisco; Toledo, Ohio; Albany, New York; Philadelphia, and several other progressive cities. Negro technicians in electronics, chemicals, metals, and petroleum products have been recently employed by some of the best known industries in the nation.

Most of these favorable trends were begun during the war years, and their total effect on the employment and economic outlook for Negroes has not been felt. For instance, only six of twenty-one operating units of the Bell system will employ Negroes as switchboard operators. Linesmen, installers, cable splicers, and other technicians

are not employed in significant numbers by any of the twenty-one companies. In spite of the recent progress in expanding job opportunities for Negroes in department stores, relatively few saleswomen are actually so employed, and fewer men are employed as salesmen by any enterprises. In many of the basic industries, Negro workers are limited in the range of jobs they can obtain, regardless of their qualifications. In the building trades, an expanding source of employment, the number of skilled Negro workers is decreasing because of the lack of training, lack of apprenticeship opportunities, and undemocratic labor union practices.

No discussion of the economic outlook for Negroes would be complete without some reference to the Negro veteran. Almost a million and a quarter Negroes have been inducted in the armed forces since 1940. Nearly one million have been discharged. The majority of Negroes were assigned to the service branches of the armed forces—engineers, transportation, communications, and quartermaster units. While few possessed skills before entering the service, they were trained to perform many highly technical jobs before the war ended. War Department records reveal that thousands of men were taught auto mechanics, carpentry, plumbing, telephone and radio installation and operation, cooking, typing, and other skills required in a mechanized army. These men are returning to civilian life better prepared to take their places in our industrial economy. It cannot be said, however, that they are getting a fair chance at available jobs. In fact, the rate of unemployment among Negro veterans is now twice as high as that among white veterans. Indian, Japanese American, Chinese, Jewish, Puerto Rican, and Filipino veterans are encountering many of the standard prewar prejudices in their quest for employment. And what is worse, the Federal agencies responsible for advising and counseling them are doing very little to change the situation. The Veterans Administration in most states and the Veterans Employment Service in every state except New York and Illinois, not only have no comprehensive program to help these men, but they are themselves guilty of gross discrimination. Studies recently completed by the Urban League reveal, for example, that in seventeen Southern and border states from which more than eight hundred thousand Negroes were inducted and to which 700,000 have returned, less than 2 percent of the 25,000 persons employed by the Veterans Administration as contact representatives, training

officers, counselors, clerks, typists, etc., are Negroes. In some states, Negroes constitute up to 35 percent of the veteran population, but they have received only 6 to 10 percent of the 1,200 jobs created by their presence. In Mississippi, which exceeded other states in the number of Negroes sent to the service (about ninety thousand), not one Negro is employed by the Veterans Administration. The Veterans Employment Service, an agency established for the sole purpose of helping veterans find decent jobs, employs more than nine hundred persons, half of whom are employment representatives and field assistants. Only four Negroes are included among them.

To a great degree, the experiences of other minorities during the war years and since V-J Day have not differed materially. In New Mexico, Texas, and Louisiana 37 percent of all complaints filed with the wartime Fair Employment Practice Committee resulted from discrimination against Spanish Americans. In California, Nevada, and Arizona 22 percent of the complaints involved the same group, primarily persons of Mexican origin. Some progress was made near the end of the war in breaking down discrimination against them, but in San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco a disproportionate number of Spanish Americans, mainly Mexicans, will be found among the unemployed, or among those employed in casual, low-paid jobs.

The Chinese have long been victims of widespread discrimination in most forms of employment. The familiar Chinatowns of many large cities are the counterparts of numerous little Harlems, while the Chinese laundry has become the symbol of Chinese economic enterprise. During the war, chiefly because they were our allies, many Chinese found work in industry, but they, like thousands of other non-whites, are finding it difficult to hold on to their wartime jobs.

The Japanese, on the other hand, made substantial progress in adjusting themselves in our economy before the war. As businessmen and farmers the Japanese competed successfully, but they found job-getting particularly difficult during the war years. Although the Japanese are returning in large numbers to Los Angeles and "little Tokyo," they too are frequently victims of employment discrimination. According to the 1940 national census, 5,000 Jews; 334,000 American Indians; 45,000 Filipino Americans; 77,000 Chinese Americans; 13,000,000 Negroes; 7,000,000 foreign-born Americans; and some 22,000,000 Catholics, together with several thousand aliens and

members of other racial and religious groups in America are at one time or another victims of discrimination in employment throughout the nation.

Most Americans like to believe that we are essentially fair-minded and considerate in our dealings with others. In some respects we are. But in this matter of employment and economic opportunity, we have erected an iron curtain that can be lifted only through extreme measures. The most recent device employed in this task is legislation. In 1945 and 1946 a vigorous but unsuccessful effort was made to secure passage of Federal antidiscrimination legislation. Similar efforts were made to enact fair employment legislation in twenty-one states. Fifty-eight different bills were introduced in the legislatures of these states. Three states, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, approved legislation to outlaw discrimination. Three other states passed bills authorizing investigation of discrimination in employment and establishing committees or commissions to make such investigations and recommend appropriate legislation. These states were Indiana, Wisconsin, and Utah. Perhaps the most significant feature of the laws enacted in New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts is the fact that the right to a job is recognized and declared to be a civil right. The acceptance of this principle provides an entirely new approach to the problem of job discrimination.

Other progressive forces have made and are making notable contributions in the struggle for more democratic employment practices. The Congress of Industrial Organizations and most of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have adopted liberal membership policies designed to increase the number of workers in the labor movement. More than fourteen million workers were members of labor unions in 1945, including 1,000,000 Negroes. In 1930 less than two hundred thousand Negroes were in the labor movement. The C.I.O. has established a national committee to abolish discrimination in its ranks, and several internationals have similar committees at national, regional, and local levels. The United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.) have done an outstanding job through committees, and the recently formed antidiscrimination committees in the United Electrical Workers, United Retail, Wholesale, and Warehouse Workers Union, the United Office and Professional Workers, and the United Public Workers Union are planning vigorous campaigns against discrimination.

The National Urban League and its fifty-six local leagues have opened many new jobs to Negro wage earners during the thirty-six years the League has worked to improve their economic position. One of the first social work movements to interpret the socio-economic aspects of race relations and racial practices in American life, the Urban League has convinced scores of indifferent employers that the employment of Negroes is no longer a matter of social reform but of good business. The League has demonstrated that sound personnel practices will eliminate the "hazards" commonly associated with the employment of Negroes in other than the traditional porter and maid jobs. It has kept alive the hopes and aspirations of Negroes by encouraging them to plan and prepare for the inevitable day when racial discrimination will no longer exclude them from decent jobs.

In recent years the League has been joined by other social work, religious, and civic organizations in the fight for democratic employment practices. The Young Women's Christian Association, the Southern Regional Council, the American Council on Race Relations, the Council for Democracy, the Federal Council of Churches, the Catholic Inter-racial Commission, the American Friends Society, and dozens of other organizations are turning their attention to this basic problem. They are working together to create a racial climate in which all Americans, regardless of race, religion, or national origin, will have a fair and equal chance to live in Freedom from Want. Whether we like it or not, ours is a vulnerable position in world affairs. The "little people" all over the world are turning to us for leadership and example in their search for a solution to the disturbing problems of human relations. We cannot provide that leadership if we permit racial and religious prejudices to blot out our sense of justice and fair play. In the words of the Honorable George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, speaking at the "Big Four" conference in Moscow: "To us a society is not free if law-abiding citizens live in fear of being denied the right to work, or deprived of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

PRODUCTIVITY AND LIVING STANDARDS

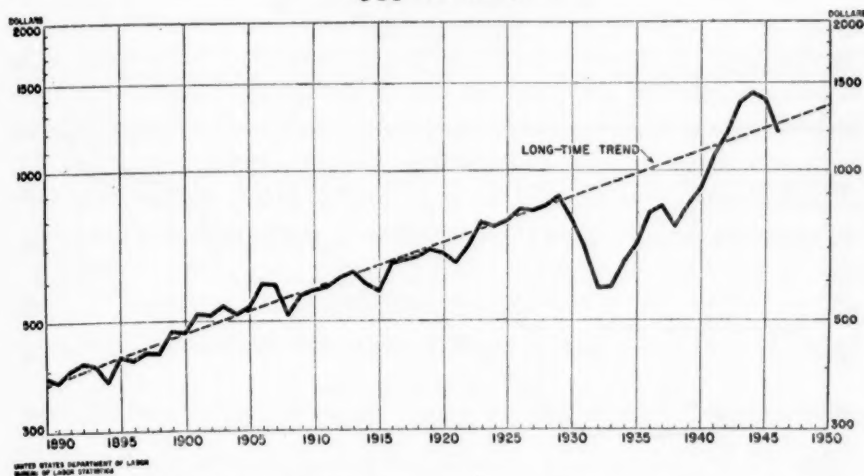
By W. Duane Evans

IN DEFINING WHAT WE MEAN by "living standards," we should probably exclude nonmaterial satisfactions which may be the products of our particular political and social environment, not because they are unimportant, but because we have no objective means for measuring them. If we confine ourselves to economic values, the average living standard of the nation may be defined as its total production of goods and services divided by the total number of persons to be served.

It is difficult to measure total production within an economy, and it is usually necessary to attach many qualifications to the results. Perhaps the best available measure of total production in the United States is the gross national product, expressed in the constant prices of some reference year. Gross national product, or GNP, to give it the affectionate diminutive used by the economist, represents the sum of all the economic values created within the national economy. Gross national product per capita may then be used as a rough-and-ready measure of the changes in our average living standards. In the year 1946 total production per person in the United States amounted to about \$1,200, at 1944 price levels (Chart I). This was more than three times as great as in 1889. During most of the period between 1889 and 1946 gross national product per capita increased rather steadily at the rate of 2.1 percent per year. This represents a doubling of living standards so defined every thirty to thirty-five years.

In Chart II the social cost of the depression years after 1929 is vividly shown by the gap between the trend based on previous years and our actual experience. Of course, a part of this gap was due to a reduction in average working hours and the social acceptance of additional leisure in place of more goods. Nevertheless, the bulk of the disparity represents mass unemployment. During the war years an unusual concentration of national effort raised total production per person to new levels, but much of this production represented goods for war purposes. In effect, these goods were used for preservation

CHART I
GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT PER CAPITA, 1889-1946
1944 DOLLARS



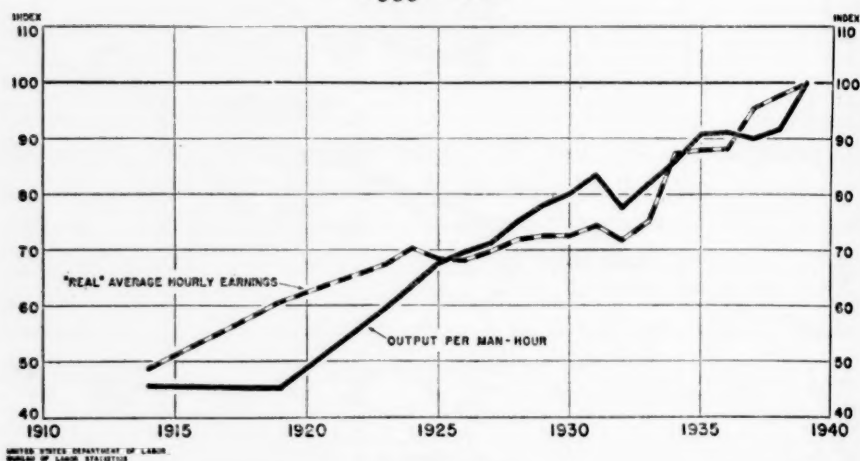
of our system and not for improvements within it. We have already experienced some decline from the wartime peak, and our main question mark must deal with the probable trend in the future.

I might interject a word of warning on the attractive nature of long-run trends of this type, even where they show great consistency over a long period. Additional experience may prove them to be misleading. For example, our experience during the thirties could not have been anticipated on the basis of any earlier results. Irregularities of equal importance may develop in the future.

Having defined the material standard of living as total production per capita, we find that it is determined almost exclusively by three factors: (1) the proportion of the total population which is working; (2) the average hours worked; and (3) the average output per hour of work. If more persons understood this truism, it might contribute toward a better appreciation of the economic problems which we face today.

During the present century the proportion of the total population to be found in the labor force has varied within narrow limits, and the trend in average working hours has been down rather than up. Accordingly, the sole explanation for the increase in our average living standards has been a substantial increase in output per man-hour.

CHART II
 OUTPUT PER MAN-HOUR AND "REAL" HOURLY EARNINGS
 MANUFACTURING, 1914-39
 1939 = 100



The rate of increase in physical production per man-hour worked has varied widely between different industries and different sections of the economy. Nevertheless, in manufacturing as a whole the average rate of improvement has been in the neighborhood of 3 percent per year, roughly equivalent to doubling the output every twenty years. The rate of increase in mining and railroad transportation has approximated that in manufacturing. In electrical power production the rate of increase has been higher, and in agriculture, lower. The salient fact is that all segments of the economy have shown some improvement, and the results appear in the continued tendency for production per capita to reach new high levels.

We hear much of the relationship of labor, management, and capital to increasing productivity. However, the dominating reason for the steady increase in output per man-hour in most of our industries is the constant accumulation of technical knowledge and the application of this knowledge to the production process. It is the constant growth in the body of such knowledge which is our main guarantee for the future.

The reason for steady improvements in productivity may be illustrated in yet another way. The term "Industrial Revolution" is now unfashionable, but it is far more than an empty phrase in an economics textbook.

Production is essentially the application of energy to raw materials and natural resources to make them more suitable for human use. As recently as a century ago, the energy in production was supplied mainly by human muscles. Since then we have devised other means of supplying the bulk of all energy used in production. The average worker to an increasing extent has become, not primarily a source of energy, but rather a director of the application of energy, and in this way the potential output per hour of human labor has been multiplied many times. The average worker in our manufacturing and mining industries is complemented by about $4\frac{1}{2}$ kilowatts of electricity during each working hour, roughly equivalent to the physical energy which could be supplied by sixty men. It is this change which sets the last century apart from all previous recorded history.

Let us return to the other factors which help to determine the standard of living. First, we find that the labor force itself has probably been influenced more by increases in productivity and living standards than the contrary. The labor force, that is, the number of persons working or seeking work, increased from about 30 percent of our total population in 1870 to nearly 40 percent in 1910. Curiously enough, this increase is more apparent than real. During this period and afterward there was steady movement of work from the household, where it could not be counted or measured, into the industrial environment, where measurement was possible. All our statistics on the working group somewhat arbitrarily omit the busy housewife.

The Industrial Revolution invaded the home as well as farm and factory. Such functions as laundering, cleaning, baking, food preparation, and dressmaking, formerly performed almost exclusively in the home, have been largely moved into industry. In addition, modern household appliances, such as vacuum cleaners, electric refrigerators and stoves, electric irons and washing machines, and the indispensable can opener, have lightened remaining household tasks. The effect of these changes has been to make available for other employment large numbers of women who otherwise would have been needed to perform the necessary work of the household itself. At the same time, job opportunities for women have been created in industry. This shift in the place of employment should probably not be regarded as an increase in the average work load. The real burden of women's work has probably been lightened.

After 1910 the proportion of the total population in the labor force changed only slightly, except during the war period. This constancy is the more unusual because there was a steady growth in the proportion of the population within the age groups from which workers are normally drawn.

The greatest effect of increased living standards on the labor force is seen in the marginal age groups. In a more primitive society, children are expected as a matter of course to contribute to the family welfare as soon as they are able. In the United States, increased productivity has made the use of child labor unnecessary. The proportion of children from ten to fifteen years of age who are gainfully occupied has been cut from nearly one fifth of the total in 1870 to a small number today, and this residue is carefully regulated in most states. At the other end of the age scale, the proportion of those over sixty-five who find it necessary to remain on the job has been substantially reduced. This narrowing of the working age groups has been made possible primarily by the ability of those remaining to produce more goods during each hour of labor.

The steady increase in the amount produced in each working hour has had far-reaching effects on the distribution of employment. In 1870 more than three fourths of all workers were employed in the commodity-producing industries—agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, manufacturing, and construction—as compared with less than half today. Simultaneously, employment in the noncommodity industries has doubled in relative importance. The reason for this startling shift is clear. The amount of goods produced by each worker in the commodity-supplying industries has increased enormously. This has relieved the pressure of material necessity and has permitted the use of a greater number of workers in noncommodity industries. These industries include transportation, power, communication, trade, finance, amusements, government, professional services, and domestic and personal services. In this group are the service, social, and cultural activities of the nation. It is on this foundation that our extensive school and public service systems have been built. The effort devoted to these activities today would be impossible in a poorer society.

It is clear that we have not tried to increase our living standards by increasing working hours. On the contrary, higher productivity has permitted a steady increase in leisure for the average worker.

Before 1900 the eleven- or twelve-hour day and six-day week were common. Such schedules were more necessary when the average worker's daily production left basic wants still unsatisfied. There was a gradual reduction in the average length of the work week throughout the years at the beginning of the century, and a substantial drop between 1917 and 1921. It is curious that the labor shortage during the first World War, and the consequent increase in the effectiveness of collective bargaining, resulted in a reduction of average scheduled working hours during the war period itself. During the twenties the accepted norm became forty-eight hours. The general standard today has become the eight-hour day and five-day week. The increased leisure made possible by this schedule is the product of today's greater industrial efficiency.

Other effects may be traced. There are commodities which must be produced, but which do not enter directly into consumption. During the earlier stages of our transformation from a handicraft to a mechanized economy, enormous quantities of these capital goods in relation to total production were required. At a later stage the need for diverting effort to the production of capital goods declined. Simultaneously, we improved our efficiency in the manufacture of the machines themselves.

The production of capital goods is made possible by savings. The reduction in the proportion of effort required for capital goods production and the increase in total income taken together have permitted a reduction in savings relative to income. There has, of course, been an equivalent increase in the proportion of income which could be devoted to current consumption. In 1901, for example, the family with an income of \$2,000 saved on the average about 20 percent of that income. In 1941 the proportion saved at the same income level averaged less than 4 percent.

We tend to think of technological change in terms of its effects on urban families, but there have been changes on farms comparable with those taking place in city homes. The farmer has become less self-sufficient and has transferred to industry functions which can be more efficiently performed there. This, in turn, has permitted him to devote more time to specialized types of agricultural production. The interdependence of farm and factory workers has thereby been increased. It is an odd fact that one of the largest items in the farmer's budget is the purchase of processed foods, a product of manufactur-

ing. The farmer has also become a substantial buyer of machines, tires, petroleum products, and electric energy, and he has benefited from the steady improvement in the efficiency of manufacturing industries. Equivalently, the industrial worker, purchasing food products and textile materials from the farmer, has benefited from greater farm mechanization and improved agricultural practices.

Some of the benefits of greater productivity have been summarized, but we must not forget that in the past technical change has been feared. It was assumed by many that increased mechanization inevitably brought with it mass unemployment. We may hope, but we cannot be sure, that the bogey of "technological unemployment" is dead. Time and trial have proved that steady technical improvement is wholly consistent with high employment levels. It is true that rapid technological change contributes to fractional unemployment, but large-scale unemployment is a different question. The maintenance of high employment levels has now been accepted as a national policy, and aid to those who may be displaced as a result of the workings of a free system is an objective of our social security legislation. If we are to maintain our living standards, we must not repeat the experience of 1932 and 1933, when one fourth of the entire civilian labor force was unemployed.

Finally, since we have no desire to increase the proportion of our population which is in the labor force, or to lengthen working hours, improvements in future living standards will depend on further increases in productivity. There is no other way; we cannot lift ourselves by our bootstraps. Chart II illustrates the close interdependence between output per man-hour and real average hourly earnings, that is, money earnings corrected for changes in the prices workers have to pay. Both series approximately doubled between 1914 and 1939, and the general correspondence between them is striking. However, it is worth noting that substantial divergences may appear at different times, even though they are temporary in nature.

The real hope for more material comforts and increased social and cultural satisfactions in the future lies in higher productivity. This is an objective to which all groups can subscribe.

THE PRICE OF UNION RESPONSIBILITY

By Lloyd H. Fisher

ONE OF THE MORE DIFFICULT TASKS of a democratic society is the reconciliation of irreconcilable objectives. The objectives that give concern are not those of contending pressure groups, for our political institutions are reasonably well designed for this type of reconciliation. The difficult tasks arise when, out of a confusion of means and ends, the public itself makes inconsistent and incompatible demands.

The present demand for labor legislation is a major case in point. Most readers of the political horoscope would agree that there is a considerable body of public sentiment for some kind of restriction upon labor. The object of this legislation, broadly conceived, would be to secure by statute a more responsible labor movement. Its principal means would be to limit the authority and effectiveness of the trade union.

As the term "responsibility" is customarily employed, it is intended to describe a complex of desirable moral traits. The responsible union leader is able to commit his union to an agreement and to the observance of that agreement. He may be a formidable adversary at the bargaining table, but the bargain once concluded is a contract and therefore sanctified. He represents his constituents well, and within the common commercial assumptions of a capitalist society, conceding the right of employers to reasonable profit. He believes in a fair day's work for a fair day's wage.

Then too, economists often use the word "responsibility" to denote concern for the effects of a given set of wage demands upon the general economic welfare. A responsible trade union will not make excessive wage demands. We may define "excessive demands" as those which will result in price increases, destruction of capital, unemployment, or all three. For present purposes, the term "responsibility" will be employed in its more customary sense of commercial morality, although the two meanings need not be antagonistic.

As unions grow in strength and become securely established in the economic life of the nation, their roles may undergo a substantial change. Arising out of deeply felt grievances and propelled by a wide-

spread sense of injustice and insecurity, the original organizing impulse of most unions was one of protest. But as the union redresses injustice, improves wages, grows in its control of job opportunities, and generally develops an area of sovereignty which is the fundamental quest of the movement in America, its original motivations are frequently attenuated, its broad objectives narrowed, its passion for social justice calmed. The union acquires valuable contracts, treasuries, an apparatus, an officialdom. It has its own laws in the form of a constitution, a grant of territory from its central body, its internal courts, its legislative and executive functions. From management, an area of economic control has been wrested. In short, it has been transformed from a protest organization to a business organization enjoying a substantial degree of political and economic autonomy and with resources and enterprises of its own.

Characteristically, it is in this phase of development that unions are most responsible, when contracts are most likely to be held sacred, when leadership is most likely to guarantee the performance of membership. The trade union secure in the hegemony over what it claims in jurisdiction, ordinarily unstinted recognition, and job control is most likely to develop the pattern of business responsibility.

The question that must be met by business revolves around a guess as to whether the labor movement, secure in an autonomous position with sovereignty over its constituents, can better be fitted into the structure of a business community than the union whose sovereignty is bitterly contested within the plant, within the community, and within the nation.

In a complex society such as our own the distance between membership and leadership grows daily wider. The separation between ownership and management which occurred long ago in the joint stock corporations has its analogies in the labor union. The separation is not yet so great, but it continues to grow. The union executive can often speak with the same authority that lends so much weight to the statements of a corporation president.

This is true, not so much because of usurpation of power, as because of the growing complexity of our society. The case was clearly stated by Karl Mannheim when he observed that modern man lives increasingly within a smaller and smaller segment of total social experience. What is true resembles less and less what would appear to

be true as measured by the daily experiences of the ordinary worker. So a great deal must be delegated to the union leader—not only of the execution and interpretation of policy, but of the interpretation of fact as well.

The labor leader lives partly in the world of management and partly in the world of the worker. He has frequently to choose between the role of militant rank-and-file leader and that of business envoy to management, between the conduct of a military campaign and the negotiation of a commercial treaty.

The public focus on the specific issues involved in disputes over contract renewals obscures the underlying conflict. Wages, hours, and working conditions are important means of labor union action, but they are not its ends. The fundamental quest of the labor movement is for sovereignty in all matters affecting the employment relationship. The conflict which underlies our industrial relations is the contest for the loyalty of the American worker. It is for this reason precisely that neither side will count the monetary cost of strikes too closely.

The essential issue is whether the function of an employer shall be confined to that of the entrepreneur, or whether he must, by the exercise of this function, be a boss as well. Long after the disintegration of the guilds, the word for employer was still "master." Although "master" has now lost its synonymity with "employer," it is still at the borders of this same problem that the battle rages.

The National Association of Manufacturers declared in 1914 that "the real and ideal union is the one between employer and employee." Its platform of December, 1946, and the legislative proposals which correspond to it do not vary substantially from this earlier theme. Measures introduced into Congress include bans on the closed shop, the union shop, preferential hiring, maintenance of membership, secondary boycotts, and, most interesting of all, on industry-wide bargaining. It is reasonably clear that each of these measures is squarely aimed at the political aspirations of the labor movement for sovereignty. The prohibitions against all forms of union security are intended to establish the sovereignty of the individual worker, and the ban against industry-wide bargaining, to deny labor the right to federate into a national state.

The demands of a union are twofold. There are the worker-

oriented demands concerning wages, hours, and working conditions. Perhaps even more important are the union-oriented demands for the closed shop, or some variant of it, and the dues check-off.

A modern union is not identical with its membership any more than a corporation is the simple sum of its stockholders, and so it is not unreasonable that the union should have requirements which are distinct and separate from those of its membership. Any experienced management negotiator understands that it is essential to a labor union that gains be made in its name. The employer who offers an unsolicited wage increase will find it no substitute for an increase bargained for by the union. He will merely have added to the total cost if, indeed, he is not found guilty of an unfair labor practice by the Federal courts.

It is an axiom of management that responsibility must go hand in hand with authority. This is quite as true in industrial relations as elsewhere. If the object is responsible trade union action, the ends will not be served by the proposed attack upon the institutional structure of unionism. The true sources of conservatism, and therefore of responsibility, spring from the institutional requirements of the labor union as a continuing political body rather than from the transitory and more or less accidental composition of its rank-and-file membership. To be responsible, therefore, the prime requirement is sovereignty sufficient for the political body to make its rules and to police its membership.

All political bodies are organized for internal control as well as external aggression. The labor union too has its system of internal enforcement as well as its apparatus for external conflict. The means at the disposal of a well-organized trade union for controlling its membership are at least as great as the facilities of the unorganized employer for disciplining his employees. The union, then, potentially is a means, not only of representing the worker, but of guaranteeing his performance as well. As a sovereign power may guarantee the behavior of its nationals, so the sovereign trade union may pledge the performance of its members.

In the search for industrial peace there are two broad paths discernible. Along one path lies the curbing of the right of association. Senator Joseph H. Ball, of Minnesota, in his measure to outlaw industry-wide bargaining, has proclaimed this course the only liberal alternative. The other path is marked by the deliberate encourage-

ment of association, the conscious use of balance of power as the strategy of industrial peace.

Which way is chosen depends upon how high an evaluation is placed upon the costs of industrial peace. If industrial peace is the paramount objective, the warring parties can best make it. But obviously, the ability to make peace is synonymous with the power to make it, and the power to make peace involves a status, a territory, and a sovereignty that American labor has not yet attained and American industry has never been willing to concede. If there is to be a settlement, labor and management must be strong enough to propose terms and to accept them and, having accepted them, to enforce them. The alternative, if we are not to have nationalization of industry on the one hand or an utterly debilitated labor movement on the other, will be those hundreds of skirmishes, punctuated with occasional major encounters, which have written the recent history of industrial relations in America.

Public emphasis has commonly dwelt on the economic aspects of industrial disputes. These are the body of labor's demands, the current, continuous, and public issues in the majority of controversies that meet the public eye. Yet these are not the most difficult issues, nor are they the deep and fundamental sources of long-continuing discord between management and unions. For these are also the arbitrable issues and the ones which increasingly are submitted to a third party for settlement when the principals fail to agree.

There are, as well, issues which neither management nor labor will submit to impartial determination, which in the long run are even more important to the building and maintenance of industrial peace. These are the issues of sovereignty. Just as a national state holds its sovereignty inviolable, so the great states of Labor and Management hold certain territory inviolable. They will bargain over the terms upon which the employment relationship will be based and, if necessary, submit the differences to arbitration. But each reserves an area the propriety of which it will not refer to an outside party. These nonarbitrable issues of industrial relations must be resolved by mutual agreement or by warfare.

The specific issues which are nonarbitrable will vary somewhat from situation to situation, but in the main the outlines are clear. For management, the reservation, central and nonarbitrable, is the right of management to noninterference in the direction of the enter-

prise. For labor, the equivalent condition is a set of guarantees that the institutional security of the union will not be challenged. Management and labor will interpret the specific contract guarantees necessary to these ends differently, according to the situation. The island bases which labor may regard as necessary to the security of its mainland are often interpreted as bases for attack by management, and the reverse is as commonly true.

The basic, long-term requirement for industrial peace is much more a political settlement than an economic settlement. No single point enunciated by the N.A.M. in its program for industrial peace deals with wages. I have no intention of deprecating the importance of economic settlements. The failure to arrive at economic agreements will produce strikes as certainly as failures of political agreement. But peacemaking institutions for bringing about economic accord are well developed. The successful practice of private, voluntary arbitration has grown markedly in recent years and has excellent prospects of even greater development. None of the machinery for the development of national political agreements exists in America, and the first steps necessary to bring it into existence have been and are being bitterly opposed.

The United States is not without a history of effort toward political settlement. The Industrial Commission of 1901, the United States Commission on Industrial Relations of 1912, and the President's Industrial Conference of 1919-20 each emphasized the need of finding a *modus vivendi* within which labor and industry could subsist secure in the necessary privileges and immunities. Each of these was without substantial result; and indeed the most ambitious plan, that put forth by the President's Industrial Conference of 1919-20, was roundly attacked by labor as thinly disguised company unionism.

The first War Labor Board, under the chairmanship of former President William H. Taft, reached an emergency settlement of the problems of status by simply freezing union security where it was when the Board took jurisdiction. The Board enunciated the principle that it would neither grant, augment, nor diminish any form of union security then in force.

With the passage of the Railway Labor Act in 1926 and its amendments in 1934, the principle of exclusive representation for purposes of collective bargaining was introduced into law. Under its terms,

management was required to deal with a single employee representative of any craft or other appropriate unit, whenever a majority of the appropriate employees so decided.

The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 wrote collective bargaining into the law of the land, and the National Labor Relations Act made exclusive representation in collective bargaining mandatory whenever a majority of affected employees so declared in elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board.

There have been two recent developments of significance. The National War Labor Board achieved a striking measure of success during the war years. It gave to labor a status which by itself it had been unable to achieve—equal representation with industry in the highest industrial tribunal of the land; and, equally important, it denied the unorganized worker, not only representation, but likewise access to the judicial apparatus of the Board. In this brief period alone, organized labor came into equal sovereignty on a national scale.

The President's Labor-Management Conference of November, 1945, an invitation to labor and management to work out the terms of industrial peace in the postwar world, found both parties unwilling to conclude voluntarily the political settlement which was asked of them.

But all these measures were limited in their achievement. The series of Presidential commissions, culminating in the Conference of November, 1945, were utter failures. The legislative enactments had for their principal objects the strengthening of labor's bargaining power so that, now more nearly equal in power, it might generate the pressure necessary to accomplish a stable settlement. That the NLRA did greatly increase the strength and power of labor is undoubted. The increase in union membership subsequent to its passage offers ample proof. But, primarily, it equipped labor to occupy that restless middle ground between the *pax Romana* and the negotiated peace. The National War Labor Board was unable and unwilling to survive the national emergency even in an attenuated form more appropriate to peacetime.

Periodically, attention is directed to those apparently happier nations across the sea—England and Sweden—where industrial relations are conducted on a higher plane. The outstanding fact in both England and Sweden is that the basic political agreement between

industry and labor has been reached, relatively informally in England, formally in Sweden.

The hallmark of a political settlement is the development of strong employers' associations for industry-wide, market-wide, nationwide, and, on occasion, class-wide bargaining between management and labor. In England and Sweden organization has been met by counterorganization, federation of unions by federation of employers. Local bargaining has virtually disappeared, and interposed between the individual employer and his employees are authoritative bodies of employers and unions able to propose settlements and to enforce them.

The simple significance of the British and Swedish experience is that labor and management have come to terms. These terms are not the wages, hours, and working conditions of the steel industry or the boot and shoe industry, for these will be annually disputed. They are the more fundamental terms of political recognition, and only with political recognition can genuinely diplomatic negotiations take place. British and Swedish industry has long proclaimed a preference for dealing with strong national unions, for the British Tory and the Swedish Conservative know what many American industrialists do not—that the center of labor is conservative and that militance and radicalism come from the periphery. They know that what strengthens the institutional structure of labor potentially increases its bonds with management.

Such a political settlement will not satisfy the great American quest for moral absolutes and cost-free solutions. But there are no cost-free solutions.

The conservative American industrialist should be calculating the price which he is willing to pay for a conservative and responsible labor movement; for there is every probability that a conservative labor movement can be had at a price that is not too great. The intelligent conservative cannot fail to have noted that the labor movement has in the past rendered valiant service in the campaign for high tariffs. He must have noted the opposition of important sections of organized labor to the public ownership of utilities. It will not have escaped him that labor has sometimes opposed the minimum wage, has stood shoulder to shoulder with industry in opposition to compulsory arbitration, that the outstanding speech on free enterprise

at the President's Labor-Management Conference came, not from the president of the N.A.M., but from the president of the United Mine Workers. Finally, he will have observed that within the labor movement those unions with the greatest institutional security are politically the farthest from the left. All these considerations constitute one account in the ledger.

In the other account are the cost items. A grant of sovereignty cannot be made conditionally. Power thus conceded, however felicitous its use in national affairs, will be used in plant or factory as well. It will abruptly terminate the dream of complete sway for the manager over his enterprise. It may involve the use against the employer of demands too great to resist and too costly to accept. To the extent that the territory of labor is augmented, that of management declines.

In intrinsic terms, the choice ought to be a close one, narrowly balanced and delicately poised. Yet there is little reason to believe that American management will tarry long over the decision. As a matter of fact, the decision has been made and is already embodied in a series of drastic bills. That management has decided to wage such large-scale battle against the sovereignty of the labor union is not evidence of any dearth of intelligent conservatism. It is merely a judgment of the necessity for concession, and a conclusion that labor's bargaining power is not yet great enough to command a political settlement.

It is as reasonable to lay the causes of industrial unrest to the weakness of labor as to its strength. For labor has not earned politically its present area of sovereignty. The hold of the American labor union upon its members seldom extends beyond the employment relationship. The labor movement has developed no consistent political philosophy and has no discernible political ends. It presents not even the most conventional threat of a public ownership movement, let alone nationalization. It has produced no coöperative movement. While it may produce members loyal to union leadership in industrial disputes, it has developed no threat to the sovereignty of business enterprise which needs to be politically compromised. The social activities of the unions abroad in education, recreation, insurance, and civic enterprise are conspicuously infrequent here. The claims of the union upon the loyalty of its membership which are so widely developed throughout the entire social and political life of the working

class in England are in America largely confined to the factory or the trade. The union member will follow his leaders into and out of limited industrial battle but not much farther.

The stability of any balance-of-power relationship depends upon an equality of strength and upon the reasonable certainty that neither side can safely assume victory. But no such balance exists. The temporary force that a union can muster in a single spectacular effort, such as a steel strike, a coal strike, or a railroad strike, is illusory, since there are not reserve forces sufficient to protect the legislative flank and rear.

The fault lies in part with the labor movement itself, for the trade union in America has relied extensively upon the employer to guarantee its sovereignty. The principal device has been the closed shop contract or some variant of it. As a substitute for the solidarity of American workers, the union has depended upon the contractual obligation of the employer to dismiss an employee not in good standing in his union. With these major tactical objectives, American labor has not demonstrated the bargaining power to generate the pressure necessary for political settlement. It is therefore of little consequence that settlement might be had upon terms relatively favorable to employers if there is no political necessity for any settlement at all.

When William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, predicts that American labor will move to the left if its institutional privileges and immunities are taken from it by legislation, he is probably correct. But if he is correct it will not be because of any mass outburst on the part of the rank and file of labor, or for the American worker's loss of confidence in the democratic institutions of capitalism, but because the leadership of American labor may come to believe that it cannot do business with American employers. Then the American employer may come to believe that union responsibility is worth its price.

We must choose whether to rely on the institutions of collective bargaining or to invoke the police power of the State. The first course requires the promotion of strong unions and strong employers' organizations, with authority democratically conferred but adequate to the task. This I conceive to be the Swedish way and the British way and one pattern for the future. The other is to limit freedom of association and to depend upon the State to prescribe the limits of organization, of action, and of contract. But if it is the State rather

than the employer with whom labor must bargain, labor will learn how to do this as well, and it will be by political organization rather than economic organization. And political issues are not limited to wages, hours, and working conditions.

THE SOCIAL SERVICES AND THE MAINTENANCE OF OPTIMUM STANDARDS OF LIVING

By Donald S. Howard

IN THIS DISCUSSION, the term "standard of living" will be broadly interpreted, the optimum standard being conceived in social and cultural terms as well as in the more material terms of food, clothing, and housing.

Just as standards are here broadly construed, so also is the definition of "social services." For those who have engaged in social welfare work overseas, this breadth of interpretation is inescapable. It is equally compelling among those who are daily confronted by the social welfare problems that face the United Nations.

When one works overseas among masses of people living half-lives in desolate communities, people who are technically, if not actually, starving to death, American medical social work, psychiatric casework, and other highly individualized refinements somehow lose a bit of their usual fascination. Under the circumstances prevailing, one frequently asks oneself what American social workers and social work skills really have to contribute. Having asked this question abroad, one cannot help but wonder, too, whether social work skills and resources are contributing all that they might contribute at home. For one, I believe that preoccupation with that narrow domain of individualized treatment which we have so often been pleased to call "our competence" has blinded us to broader fields of useful service. Therefore, the term "social service" is broadly interpreted; in fact, some of the devices discussed would perhaps be more appropriately described as "social measures."

The role of social services in helping to maintain optimum living standards, as I envisage it, is dictated by three assumptions. The first of these is that people, in order to lead personally satisfying and socially useful lives, not only require a given quantity of goods and services, but need also to live in a socially constructive milieu. Generally, this means living in a household with loving relatives. Chil-

dren, we believe, normally should live with their parents; children without parents should live with foster parents. Youths and adults running athwart the law, aged persons, mentally ill persons, or those suffering from mental defects are all thought to do better in a family rather than in an institution unless special factors make institutional care necessary.

Readily recognizable social services instituted to help as many persons as possible to benefit by living in households with loving relatives (or relative-substitutes) include public assistance; child welfare services; probation and parole services; and foster care programs for children, the aged, delinquents, those who are mentally defective or mentally ill, and other persons who do not need institutional care but are unable to live in their own homes.

These programs, so far as they go, have done incalculable good. However, they have not been nearly broad enough. For example, what children do our present social services help to live with what parents? Are we concerned only with the children of parents who may perhaps need public assistance to enable them to keep their brood together? Or, do we believe that rich children and rich parents also belong together?

If it makes sense to maintain public assistance and child welfare services to keep poor children in poor homes, it also makes sense to establish social services to confront wealthy homes with their responsibilities toward their children. It also makes sense to help these families to provide a loving home atmosphere for children who otherwise might be shipped off to boarding school, then to finishing school, then to Canadian camps in summer and on Caribbean cruises in winter.

What of the child all but deserted by a father who spends so much time and energy making money that he has no time or energy for the youngster? And what of the predelinquent scion of a wealthy family carted off to some fancy military academy? Does he need his family less than the youngster who is put on probation with his poor parents? And what of children bandied about as a result of our alarming and increasing number of divorces? Similarly, is the fact that a rich family can afford to "put away" one of its members in an exclusive psychiatric hospital or old people's home sufficient reason for depriving such a person of a more constructive milieu in which he might safely live?

If—as we pretend to believe—children and parents belong together, rich children and rich parents belong together as much as do poor children and poor parents. This being true, have we not a heavy responsibility to provide for parents of all classes the broad social services necessary to help them recognize and meet these responsibilities? Do we really believe that—except for that small minority, rich or poor, which really needs institutional care—there's no place like home? If so, we must reconstruct our social services so that they may help economically independent as well as economically dependent families to meet their proper responsibilities. It is not enough that we begin on a fee basis to render family services long identified with relief and relief agencies and then wonder why economically independent families do not take advantage of them. Our responsibility is a much more fundamental one. If Mohammed will not come to our mountain, our task is to find an acceptable and effective mountain to take to Mohammed. Unless we do this we make a hollow and undemocratic mockery of our alleged beliefs in the benefits of family life.

Meeting our social responsibilities in this area will not only require the expansion of the most obviously needed services, but it will involve also: (1) a broad program of public education as to what family life really should mean; (2) broad-scale family consultation service; (3) extension to urban areas of the excellent home demonstration services available in rural areas through the Federal Department of Agriculture and the land-grant colleges; and (4) the expansion of free and paid homemaker or housekeeper services. If we think of rationalizing medical care and housing on a public service basis—because neither can be adequately provided on any other basis—why not consider a similar rationalization of domestic service if this is essential to help families of all classes to meet their responsibilities?

Incidentally, if I understand the present clash of ideologies in this harassed world, one of the central points in dispute between East and West relates to the role of the family. In my opinion, American family life is much less likely to succumb to argumentative attack from without than it is to collapse because of the indifference, selfishness, and broken relationships undermining it today.

All the accouterments of an optimum standard of living, but with no family circle in which to enjoy them, offer only a half-life. Will we

be content to see America forego this missing half of life, or will we put up a scrap first?

A second assumption is that, so far as possible, people should have the opportunity with reasonable effort and without harm to themselves or others to attain the optimum standard of living which we hope all people in this country may enjoy. To the extent that this objective cannot otherwise be realized, however, necessary social services and related measures must be devised.

Under our culture there is no real substitute for a job. If levels of employment seem likely to fall off, therefore, measures to assure continuance of high-level employment must be instituted. If unemployment actually develops, compensatory employment programs must be immediately initiated.

If jobs are available, but a particular individual is unable to work, every possible effort must be made through retraining, physical reconditioning, financial assistance, and every type of social service to help him become able to work. In my home community there was a family in which the woman of the house was the breadwinner while the crippled husband remained at home, serving as housekeeper and baby-tender. Realizing that this situation could not go on forever without damage to the family, our welfare officer made a farseeing offer. Despite the fact that the family was economically independent, it was given financial assistance to permit the mother to remain at home to care for the children more adequately while medical care, prosthetic appliances and vocational retraining were provided for the father to enable him to fulfill his proper role as breadwinner. Forward-looking moves like this must be duplicated many, many times—even when families appear to be getting along all right—if our second assumption is to be realized.

If the optimum standard of living should be available through reasonable effort, without danger either to the breadwinners or to others, this principle too has far-reaching implications for our social services. Cardiac cases, for instance, would be given assistance to supplement inadequate earnings or would be offered vocational retraining before they would be expected to work themselves to death to support their families. Or, appropriate employment might be provided as a social service.

Before a girl would be left to earn her optimum standard of living through prostitution, or before anyone would be allowed to live

through the exploitation of others, social services would be brought into operation. These might include strong reminders of one's social responsibilities, vocational training, physical rehabilitation, and other needed services, including, if necessary, temporary assistance.

If optimum standards are to be available through reasonable effort, working conditions must be made as safe as possible. Perhaps, through foresight and imagination, we could remedy the danger spots in our modern life before they break into catastrophe. Is this too much to expect of social services, social measures?

If our optimum standard is to be available in return for reasonable effort, social measures must assure protection against overlong hours of work and must also assure at least a legally prescribed minimum rate of pay. The optimum standard must also be available at a fair money cost. To insure this, social measures may be required (1) to keep rents and the prices of essential goods under control; (2) to maintain a balance between changes in wage scales and those in living costs; (3) to protect consumers against substandard merchandise and against misleading or false labeling of consumption goods; (4) to provide as a social service—perhaps free of charge, perhaps at a fair price—goods or services, such as medical care, housing, housekeeper service, public utilities, and recreational facilities not otherwise available in adequate supply at reasonable cost. Is it any less reasonable to look to the development of these services to undergird our optimum standard of living than to depend, as we now do, upon public schools and libraries to reduce individual family expenditures for these purposes?

If our criterion of reasonable effort is to be realized, consideration must be given to the need for supplementing our present wage structure with a system of family or children's allowances. Wage standards likely to be attained in any foreseeable future cannot be expected to provide for all families with children the things we now believe those children need. This gap in our present defenses against human need may well be stopped, at least in part—as it has in every other major industrial nation—through children's allowances.

A third assumption is that our optimum standard must be continuously available. Moreover, families must feel assured that it will be continuously available. Constant fear that we might have to reduce our scale of living is often worse than the actual reduction. Consequently, attention must be given to employment stabilization and to

the adoption, wherever possible, of the principle of the annual wage.

It is not enough that a man be fairly paid for an hour's work. He needs assurance that he will be thus paid for some two thousand hours in the course of a year. Experience thus far gained, though of limited scope, clearly suggests that the annual wage principle really gives us a target to shoot at if we are to assure American workers an optimum standard of life on a continuing basis.

To know in advance that continuity is assured brings a double blessing; it not only provides the standard in question, but it wipes out all those gnawing fears and uncertainties as to whether or not bread will in fact be on the table and coal in the bin. Without this assurance many workers are almost hopelessly handicapped in planning home ownership, purchases of household equipment, and the education of their children.

A further important social measure to assure continuity of living standards is the public program of compensatory employment. Still other measures are social insurance and related payments, public assistance, and free social services, such as medical care.

Public opinion being what it is at the moment, social insurance is generally looked upon as preferable to assistance as a device for maintaining living standards. This preference is to be deplored. If assistance is the only means whereby a family's needs can be met, it should be available upon as respectable a basis as any other device for maintaining living standards. Gradually, as assistance becomes more adequate, as it is increasingly administered as if it were a right, as it is divested of all attempts to use it as a tool to control the behavior of recipients, it will undoubtedly take its proper place as a means, second to none, of maintaining living standards.

Just where direct community services fit into this hierarchy of social measures is rather obscure. Unfortunately, the really constructive value of community services is somewhat compromised by their long association with relief. Public medical care, casework, and counseling service, to mention only a few, have about them the unmistakable odor of the Poor Law.

Frequently, poor relief authorities provided "services" because relief recipients were not trusted to spend the funds which might be given to them. Consequently, a series of medical services, school lunch programs, and other social utilities were established. A quite recent example was the opposition of certain voluntary agency workers

in Canada who opposed the establishment of the recently inaugurated family allowance on the ground that parents would be likely to mispend the money.

This association of "services" with the alleged personal undependability of assistance recipients has, of course, contributed to the malodor sometimes surrounding them. In retrospect, however, we see that this handicap need not be permanent. Evidence of this is found in our free public schools, which originated as charity schools for children of the poor.

A second important reason why services have not been better developed as respectable devices for raising standards of living is that for too long we have relied upon our control over relief and assistance to do what should have been accomplished through self-respecting social services. How much better it would have been if our interest in nutrition could have been channeled into developing community-wide nutrition services instead of our reliance being placed upon our control of relief and food orders to induce families to purchase and to use in the approved manner the foods they were thought to need. If it is really nutrition that we are concerned about, we should be as interested in seeing that the Astorbilt children get their spinach as we are in seeing that children in relief-receiving families get theirs.

Experience clearly shows that malnutrition is a problem among economically independent families just as it is among dependent families. Yet reliance upon relief-giving as a tool has retarded development of broad-scale nutrition services which might reach economically independent and dependent families alike. The Department of Agriculture and the land-grant colleges really have an excellent project in their home demonstration program which is available to rich households as well as to poor ones.

This universality of service avoids one of the greatest of all difficulties encountered in linking services with relief. When economically dependent families have once again become self-supporting and no longer need assistance, they tend to cut out of their lives everything which too painfully recalls the unhappy period of their dependence upon relief. Under these circumstances, nutrition education is likely to be discarded along with dependency.

Services already mentioned as devices to undergird optimum living standards may either supplement earnings or may be rendered to families who have no earnings. Only as we transform these services

into constructive devices for meeting essential needs and divest them of all connotations inimical to the self-respect of those served by them can social services fulfill their proper role in maintaining optimum standards and conditions of living.

Again I urge that in our effort to see optimum living standards maintained, we not allow ourselves to become preoccupied with relief and assistance services but, rather, raise our sights to broader horizons. In attempting to provide socially constructive settings in which people can grow, in helping people to attain the optimum standard of life with reasonable effort and without harm to themselves and others, and in assuring the continuity of optimum standards, a wide variety of services and measures is required. Unless social workers, who, more than most other citizens, are concerned with living standards, unsparingly devote themselves to the promotion of these broader measures, who will?

THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE VETERAN IN A DEMOCRACY

By George W. Ebey

CERTAINLY EVERYONE WILL AGREE that there is a plethora of responsibility to be assumed, by veteran and nonveteran alike. Many veterans of the second World War already have accepted positions of leadership. One need only look at the number of new veterans in the current Congress to appreciate this fact. Other veterans occupy high positions in industry, labor, and the professions. It is my belief that they will have a wholesome effect upon our national life.

At the same time, the government has recognized its responsibilities toward many veterans. Those who have returned to school appreciate the advantages of the education feature of the G.I. Bill of Rights and the spirit in which it was provided. The hospitalization of the mentally and physically disabled is playing a large part in the rehabilitation of our handicapped veterans. The vast majority of veterans support wholeheartedly the leadership of General Omar Bradley in the Veterans Administration. They consider him a great citizen, a great American of unimpeachable integrity whose major interest is the welfare of the veteran.

As we turn to other aspects of our national life, however, one senses that the veteran is becoming increasingly disillusioned about the "land of milk and honey" he sometimes dreamed about in the fox-holes. He has come home to find prices skyrocketing; black marketeers having a field day; a certain section of the population whipping up sentiment for a new war, an atomic and biological war, *now*; fiery crosses, the symbol of racial intolerance, burning, not only in the Deep South, but in the Far West as well; well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed individuals mournfully predicting an economic recession in the near future; landlords withholding rental properties from the market in an organized effort to assassinate the last vestiges of effective price control; many Congressmen apparently much more interested in satisfying the real estate lobbies than in providing adequate housing for the nation's citizens.

Is it any wonder that the returning veteran sometimes uses picturesque G.I. language to describe the treatment he is receiving? And equally descriptive phraseology for the fouled-up situation in which he finds the country?

Some veterans were cynical during the war. Others were optimistic: They were engaged in a struggle for what they considered a deathless cause. They were serving their fellow men. They were firmly convinced that they would return to civilian life to find a well-run society with vast improvements, the inevitable result of the greatest community of effort in the history of mankind. How would it be possible for a nation that had supported so fervently the one supreme enterprise to return to the snarling credo of every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost? For the idealist, coming home from war has been one long, cruel disillusionment.

But the disillusionment should not lead to despair, and it may actually be wholesome if it convinces the average veteran of the need for responsible leadership, if it induces him to accept more fully his share of social responsibility in our democracy. There must be an increasing number of veterans whose thinking coincides with that expressed by an American artillery corporal in 1944 when he wrote from the bitter mountains of Italy:

All of us here grope for some solid means which would transfer the helm of the future into our hands, some device which would break for all time the rhythm of war, the strangle hold of inept standards and powerful, anonymous control. When the soldier gets back, he will want more than a pat on the back and a drink or two. He will want to be an eager partner in the reconstruction, who has learned much, who can give much, and who is afraid of nothing.

There is one school of thought which believes that the responsibilities of the veteran are no greater than those of any other citizen, that the most important objective should be to get the veteran to forget that he is a veteran, to hasten his return to the uncontaminated status of a civilian.

There are others who believe that the social responsibilities of the veteran are greater than those of the nonveteran. They reason that here are the men and women—for the most part young men and women—who contributed so significantly to our nation's recent war program, a war program unparalleled in military history. Here are the ones who sailed or flew to all parts of the globe to turn the tide

of battle on little-known or soon-forgotten beaches or fields or watery expanses. Certainly these men and women who willingly gave so much in defense of our democratic ideals should feel more keenly their responsibilities for achieving in peace the purposes for which the war was fought.

The American Veterans Committee subscribes to this latter viewpoint. The A.V.C. has as its motto, "Citizens first, Veterans second"; as its major purpose, the achievement of a "more democratic and prosperous America and a more stable world." We believe that many of our most pressing problems, such as world peace, full employment, racial and religious coöperation, a stable economy, adequate housing, are problems which we hold in common with the vast majority of other citizens. Consistently we have maintained that it is important to organize as veterans and to act as citizens in order to make an impact upon the shaping of the future.

I believe that it is important for a veteran interested in assuming his responsibilities to join a veterans organization which reflects his outlook and which is sufficiently flexible to be responsive to his thinking. In our complex society it is only through organization that the veteran of the second World War can become a full and responsible partner in the enterprise of achieving peace, jobs, and freedom. It is only through organization that the idea of the American artillery corporal in the bitter mountains of Italy can become a reality.

There may be room to suspect that there are those who do not entirely welcome the veteran's assuming his social responsibilities. After all, the veteran of this war is young and adaptable. In many instances he has had time to do some thinking in a foxhole, in the bowels of a ship, or in the cockpit of a plane. In some instances he has known the stench of dead human flesh—flesh he may have called by name a short time before. In every instance he has had to substitute new patterns of action for old in order to accomplish his objectives. He has learned how to get things done. All these experiences have an influence upon an individual's philosophy. And when the new veteran talks about dynamic and positive democracy, in all probability he is not talking about a 20 percent income tax cut as a first Congressional order of business. In all probability he is talking about action which means something in terms of human values.

I have discussed this subject with at least a hundred veterans. From them I received numerous suggestions, all of which can be reduced

to a single idea: it is the responsibility of the veteran in a democracy to make democracy work. Simple, isn't it?

We believe that democracy must assume the offensive. The Allied Supreme Headquarters knew that Germany was through long before D Day on the Normandy beaches. It was especially apparent to the leadership of the air forces. The tip-off was the decision of the German High Command to shift from the production of bombers to the production of fighter planes. Such action was tantamount to admission that Germany had given up the offensive, that she would be content to consolidate and defend her gains.

Today our nation's leadership may well take a second look at this page in history. When democracy decides to rest on her laurels, to consolidate and defend her gains, she will be planting the seeds of her own destruction. It is only a positive and dynamic democracy which can solve our nation's ills and help bind up the wounds of the world. Democracy must stay on the offensive.

Obviously, I do not contemplate carrying the gospel of democracy to all parts of the globe by force of arms. Such an aggressive policy would be fruitless and essentially undemocratic in character. Nor do I mean that we should bolster with military support every strategically located country in the world. Figuratively speaking, such a policy might easily be considered the beginning of our "production of fighter planes," a purely defensive measure.

Our position in world affairs should not be underemphasized. Yet I am thinking not only of the world situation, but also of the less dramatic, less breath-taking, equally important problems of democracy on the home front. In order to make democracy work, it seems to me a primary requirement that all of us understand quite specifically what democracy means. In a vague way we all know, or feel that we know, what democracy means. Yet when we are pinned down, we are likely to think back to our school days and come up with the Lincolnian concept of a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The definition is excellent. But I think Lincoln would have agreed that democracy is more than a political theory: it is a way of life affecting men in all their daily relationships. That is why, of course, its implementation is so difficult.

Democracy is a way of life which exalts the individual, which places a great emphasis upon the human worth of the individual regardless of creed, color, or national origin.

It is a way of life which promotes a high quality of associated living among men.

It is a way of life which places great faith in the common man, encouraging participation in activities by all who are concerned.

It is a way of life which substitutes the light of intelligence for the heat of emotion, which encourages the methods of science in the solution of problems and discourages demagoguery and charlatanism and the magic of the witch doctor.

This concept of democracy as a social ideal broadens its meaning beyond governmental affairs in the narrow sense and into the varied aspects of community life, into business, the school, family life, and even into relationships within a veterans organization. Like most glittering generalities, this concept of democracy would, I believe, receive overwhelming support throughout the nation. It is sufficiently abstract. It is only when one attempts to begin its implementation that difficulties arise. So let us become more specific.

What does "democracy on the offensive" mean when we approach such problems as racial and religious harmony, world coöperation, full and fair employment, equality of educational opportunity, the conservation and wise utilization of our natural resources, national security, adequate housing, decency and dignity in the handling of veterans' affairs, the provision of health and medical services, full opportunity for wholesome recreation, the rights and responsibilities of labor and industry, care for our aged, freedom from political oppression, a sense of belonging and a positive program of constructive achievement for youth, freedom to seek the truth in controversial areas? What does our concept of democracy mean when we consider such mundane topics as the present price of pork chops? Or the blanket increase in rent ceilings? Or aid to Greece and Turkey? It is when we begin thinking about such specific applications as these that our offensive may bog down, at least momentarily.

The A.V.C. believes racial and religious harmony to be a condition of first importance in American life. The color of a man's skin made no difference to a bullet during the war. It should not serve as a basis for segregating Americans in the struggle to win the peace. Yet within the past six months there has been ample evidence that not all Americans agree with this position. In December of 1946 within twenty-five miles of San Francisco the home of a Negro veteran was burned to the ground because he refused to heed

a warning to move from the neighborhood. More recently, 500 high school students went on strike in Los Angeles against the presence in their classrooms of Americans whose skins are of a different color. In another city a nursery school teacher circulated a petition among parents requesting transfer of a colored child, claiming that she could not bear to touch him. In still another community a Negro veteran has been traveling fifty miles to get his hair cut because local barbers consider his patronage economically inadvisable. I am happy to report that in all four instances of discrimination the forces of democracy did take the offensive. In three instances the American Veterans Committee was an active participant in that offensive.

What is happening to the Negro is happening also to Americans of Japanese and Latin American ancestry, as well as to individuals of minority religious groups. Where do these attitudes fit into a concept of democracy which includes emphasis upon the human worth of the individual and a high quality of associated living among men?

And then there is the problem of housing. Veterans constitute a large part of the present dispossessed generation. We are amused when we are informed that on February second the ground hog left his hole and upon his return was dismayed to find that a veteran had moved in. And we smile when a radio comedian quips that the housing shortage is, after all, just a vicious rumor started by several million homeless people. But we are very much concerned when some well-housed individuals, with a poor sense of humor but a keen sense of profit-taking, apparently are accepting seriously the suggestion that the housing shortage is just a vicious rumor. Social workers know better. So do those who wear the "ruptured duck." So do men who deal with veterans' affairs.

In a recent address, General Omar Bradley said: "Few post-war problems have afflicted the veteran more severely than the acute housing shortage which grips the nation today." He went on to reveal these facts: more than a quarter of all married veterans are doubling up with families and friends . . . more than two million veterans live in houses that need major repairs . . . two student veterans lived for seven months in a car . . . two others lived in the empty belfry of a church . . . families are turning poultry houses and garages into dwelling quarters. According to General Bradley, the housing crisis "has spelled more misery for many veterans than they were forced to endure in the war."

General Bradley could easily have elaborated upon what impossible housing conditions mean in terms of ill health, wrecked marriages and broken homes, inability to secure adequate education, changed vocational objectives, frustration, crime, and group conflict. I contend that our concept of democracy has a direct bearing upon the problem of housing. Morally and socially, there is no more pressing problem in the nation.

Those of us who beheld the flood of war matériel pour forth know the productive capabilities of our nation. A similar flood of housing is both possible and desirable. Yet, not long ago, we witnessed the knifing of Wilson Wyatt's veterans housing program by men of small stature in high places and we observed how effectively the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill was "smothered with the silken pillow of parliamentary procedure" in the House Committee on Banking and Currency. The A.V.C. contends that a decent home in a decent neighborhood should be the birthright of every American. Where is democracy's offensive on the housing front?

I defined democracy as a way of life that stresses participation in activities of common concern and that accepts the objectivity of science rather than the ways of the witch doctor or the demagogue. The problem of participation can be rather disconcerting. Democracy's success depends upon broad and intelligent participation by a large majority of its citizens. It takes time to become informed and energy to participate in worth-while activities. It is much easier for one to find one's security in a black shirt or in the discipline of a party line. It is much easier, too, to spend one's time getting jittery about the world situation over another cocktail or another round of bridge. It is much more difficult, apparently, to indulge in such a relatively simple activity as exercising the right to vote.

I do not think that going to the polls once every year should begin to qualify as democratic participation. I do not think that is what the artillery corporal meant when he expressed his desire "to be an eager partner in the reconstruction." I think there is a responsibility for everyone, and particularly for the new veteran, to stay informed, to think objectively, and to participate conscientiously in worth-while activities designed to further democracy—particularly in the local community, for it is here that this quality among men should find its first and possibly its fullest expression.

A Red mist of hysteria is sweeping our land, a Red mist that is

afflicting the minds of millions of normally sane people. Some say that this hysteria is part of the reaction that follows every war, the aftermath to hate psychology essential to achieving wartime objectives. Some think it is deliberately manufactured to prepare us for a conflict with Russia. Others believe it is part of a plan to keep the American people from thinking objectively about their domestic problems. It is rather interesting, for example, that the integrity of some of the finest educators in California is maligned about the time people are considering paying teachers a living wage.

Let there be no misunderstanding with respect to our position. The men who fought to defeat totalitarianism abroad are not going to condone any system which jeopardizes our American freedoms, which threatens to fetter our democratic institutions. They realize, however, that it is fruitless at best and dangerous at worst to attempt to become politically respectable by depriving others of civil liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Unfortunately, there seems to be a high premium upon this type of respectability.

In March, 1947, the National Planning Committee of the A.V.C. passed a resolution on the outlawing of the Communist party, which reads in part:

As veterans of a great war fought to preserve our nation and its democratic way of life, we abhor both the objectives and the tactics of the American Communist Party. We likewise abhor proposals designed to preserve our democracy by muzzling groups which seek to destroy it. . . . The only way to combat Communism is in the open, where its defects can be demonstrated and democracy's values proved in action. We stand with Thomas Jefferson: "Error may be tolerated so long as reason is left free to combat it."

In effect, the committee is saying, "You can't combat Communism by shifting your emphasis to fighter planes. Democracy's strength lies in the offensive—in tackling her domestic and foreign problems in an objective and forthright manner."

There are two important contributions that the veteran can make as he assumes his social responsibilities. The first contribution is courage. I do not mean to imply that the nonveteran lacks courage. I do contend that the new veteran has courage in abundance. He brings to our national life a courage and determination which may well be one of democracy's greatest sources of strength.

Equally important is the contribution that a veterans' organiza-

tion can make as an integrating factor in community life. Throughout the nation there are communities which are tending to pull apart internally because of misunderstanding and conflict and the resulting tension. One wonders how we can ever learn to live peacefully together on a world scale when we find it so difficult to live with one another in communities like San Francisco or Detroit or Waukegan. The men of the armed forces came from agriculture and labor, from business and the professions, from schools and colleges. They fought together in a great common enterprise. As they became veterans, they returned to agriculture and labor, to business and the professions, to schools and colleges. It is through the veterans organizations that they can continue to work together to win the peace. Under proper leadership they will carry through their program to promote the integration of the community, to avoid the social splintering so inimical to progress.

No discussion of the social responsibility of the veteran would be complete without some reference to the international scene. The new veteran is very much concerned with international affairs. To many veterans the waterways and airways of the world are more familiar than the mountains of his own country. All of them understand that amicable relationships among nations are fundamental to world peace and the furtherance of democracy at home. They have the highest regard for the statesmanship, the greatness of our present Secretary of State, General George Marshall, yet there is real concern over the proposal of military aid to Greece and Turkey. An undercurrent exists which, if expressed, might say, "well, boys, here we go again." There is a realization among them that only by strengthening the authority and police power of the United Nations can international security be assured, that only then will small nations cease to be pawns in any power struggle between large nations.

Even on an international scale our concept of democracy applies. We are interested in a high quality of associated living among nations. We support active participation among nations in areas of common concern. World peace obviously is the concern of all nations. The new veteran is willing that the United States should give up some of our sovereignty to strengthen an organization which is the only hope of promoting good neighborliness throughout the world. Other nations, of course, must do likewise. It is only through

this type of approach that democracy can assume its offensive on a world scale.

In the aftermath of every war there is a struggle between the harpies and the heroes. Too frequently the harpies have their way. For several decades after the Civil War the harpies kept us divided into a nation half "rebel" and half "damned Yankee." On a larger scale there is a similarity in many of our present problems. Today the world is a community of neighbors, and every nation lives on its neighbor's threshold. It is imperative that the harpies must not have their way. We must build, as Wendell Willkie expressed it, "a living, vibrant, fearless democracy—economic, social, and political. All we need to do is to stand up and perform according to our professed ideals."

THE CHALLENGE AND PROMISE OF FEDERAL REORGANIZATION

By George E. Bigge

IN DISCUSSING FEDERAL REORGANIZATION in the field of social security, I should like to consider it, not as beginning and ending with the reorganization of July, 1946, but rather as a continuing process, an adaptation of the Federal Security Agency and its constituent units to the work they are expected to do. The process of adaptation, not so much in form as in policy and procedure, has been going on ever since the Social Security Act was passed. The abolition of the Social Security Board in July of 1946 did not materially affect the function. Since a single official cannot perform in quite the same way as a bipartisan board, there have naturally been some internal changes. But on the whole, these are of less significance than changes which have occurred in the past and others which doubtless lie ahead.

The Federal Security Agency is the nation's number one agency for handling grants-in-aid to the several states. The appropriation for the agency for 1947 is \$875,000,000. Approximately 90 percent of this is passed on in the form of grants-in-aid and is matched in the states by an even larger amount. The grants administered by the agency in the Bureau of Public Assistance, the United States Public Health Service, the Children's Bureau, etc., amount to seven times as much as the total Federal grants to states in all fields twenty years ago. All of these are what are known as "conditional grants." The Congress appropriates money for particular purposes, and the agency, or a constituent unit, is made responsible for passing the funds on to the states and seeing that they use the money for the purpose for which it is intended. To understand the problem of organization and administration of the FSA it is necessary to keep constantly in mind this specialized character of the programs for which it is responsible.

Such special purpose grants may be either temporary or permanent. The temporary grant is intended to induce the states to start a program with the expectation that they will carry it on later without Federal assistance. The Sheppard-Towner Act, which provided grants

for aid to mothers and children, was for a five-year period and lapsed in 1926. But when a similar provision was included in the Social Security Act in 1935, it was on a continuing basis. None of the present grant programs is of the temporary, terminable type. The Federal role is not merely that of stimulation or education or training, it is that of a partner in carrying on a joint enterprise.

There has been some discussion of turning the full responsibility for certain programs back to the states and localities. It is said that the programs are operating successfully, they need no special stimulus, the states are in better financial condition than the Federal Government, and, it is frequently implied, there is too much interference by the Federal Government in state and local affairs anyway. The states, too, occasionally suggest that the Federal Government withdraw from this field. As a rule, this suggestion carries only to the point of withdrawing regulations or requirements, and not to the point of withdrawing Federal funds. As a matter of fact, states need the funds; many states as well as the Federal Government have budget troubles. It is difficult to conceive of a change of policy which will deprive states, especially the poorer states, of this important source of revenue for these special purposes.

Indeed, when we consider the needs which still exist it seems entirely likely that the activity of the Federal Government in the broad field of welfare will expand rather than contract. Although the Federal Government is now contributing almost half a billion dollars for old age assistance, the average monthly grant for an aged individual is only \$35.39, and in nine states it is still below \$20.00. Aid to dependent children is even more inadequate. What would happen if Federal grants were withdrawn? And what about education? One of the basic tenets of our national policy has always been that an educated citizenry is essential to democracy. Yet we have left the problem of education to the local communities. But this is not a problem for the communities alone or for the individual states. It is a problem for the nation as a whole. There can be little doubt that some way will be found for the National Government to assist in financing more uniform educational opportunity.

And what about health? Certainly the nation has a vital interest in the health of its people. Some way must be found to promote that interest. I do not know how far the grant-in-aid program can, or should, or will, be used in this field. That may well depend on

how effective such grants are where they are already in use. The point is that the interest and the activity of the Federal Government in these areas, all covered by the Federal Security Agency, will probably increase. And since most of the work is carried on through grants-in-aid it is essential that these programs be organized as effectively as possible.

It does not seem to me that there need be any danger that such grants will necessarily undermine the state and local governments. The functions financed by these grants must be discharged. Experience has shown that they cannot be discharged effectively by the states and localities alone. Either the National Government must intervene directly to help the citizen—in which case he will be weaned away from the state and local governments—or it must provide funds so that the states can perform their traditional functions more effectively. I am convinced that, properly organized and properly administered, a system of grants-in-aid can strengthen rather than weaken state and local governments.

That, it seems to me, is the challenge which confronts us: to see that the organization and administration of these grant programs is such that they do serve the purpose for which they are intended, and at the same time that they do not replace state responsibility by Federal responsibility but rather bring the Federal resources, and experience, and talents to the assistance of the states. An additional challenge implied in the reorganization, which brought welfare, health, and education under one head, is to maintain a balance between these varied activities so that the resources of the people may be used to the best advantage. Not much has been accomplished along this line. Many states spend a disproportionate amount of their resources on one program. But to the extent that the responsible agencies are brought into closer contact, as they now are in the Federal Security Agency, we may hope that a more constructive and consistent policy may emerge.

Now what about organization, or reorganization? As we examine the developments of the last ten years we can distinguish roughly three periods in organization and in Federal-state relations.

In the first period the Federal agency relied largely on the audit to assure itself that the funds were properly used. I am speaking primarily of public assistance, although the experience of the other units is similar in many respects. It is true that when the Social

Security Act was passed states were required to submit plans which were intended to show that they would meet the requirements set forth in the Federal act. But as operations got under way and payments increased, it became clear that activities in many instances did not meet the specified conditions. The general language of the law or regulations was interpreted differently in their application by state or local officials than by the Federal officials who accepted them as meeting Federal requirements. To see that Federal funds were not improperly used in such cases, it was necessary to have auditors check the individual files and deny Federal matching wherever a payment appeared to be contrary to the Federal requirements. In some instances these exceptions ran to large amounts. Some of them, of course, were the results of errors, some of carelessness, but many were unquestionably due to differences of judgment, differences of opinion or interpretation between the state and local officials, on the one hand, and the Federal auditor, on the other. To make matters worse—much worse, from the social worker's point of view—the auditor presumed to pass judgment upon the decisions made by the visitor. He examined the file in detail, not only to see that the necessary facts were included, but to see that what he considered proper conclusions were drawn from these facts. In other words, the auditor was the chief reliance in seeing that Federal funds were not improperly used.

This was a difficult, cumbersome, time-consuming, and expensive process at best; and since the auditor was not necessarily qualified as a social worker, it led to much misunderstanding and dissatisfaction. A careful review of the situation led to the first major change in internal operating procedures and in Federal-state relations. Over a period of time the function of the auditor was carefully defined and limited so that officially he now passes judgment only on what concerns him in the fiscal audit. If he sees other matters which he thinks should be remedied, he calls them to the attention of someone who is professionally qualified to deal with the problem.

This change ushered in the second period, during which the administrative review largely took the place of the audit as a means of evaluating state operations. At the same time there was another, parallel development, a tremendous increase in the amount of state plan material sent in for advance review. State officials had naturally been disturbed by the fiscal exceptions which had been taken. To

avoid future difficulties, they sent more detailed interpretations and instructions to state and local workers; and to be sure that these were in accordance with Federal interpretations, they began to send in all such material for review and approval. The Federal officials encouraged this practice and assumed the responsibility of reviewing a mass of details. The result was that both Federal and state officials spent a considerable amount of time handling material which was of no real importance in relation to Federal requirements, and had little to do with good administration.

In spite of the time and energy spent in review it was found that this did not give an adequate picture of what was actually happening in a given state. A state law and regulations might be such that they would permit operation in accordance with Federal requirements, but if local workers were inadequately trained, or if they had different notions of how the job should be done, and were not properly supervised, the end result might be far from satisfactory. It was found not infrequently that while a state had a well-written plan, actual operations were not reflected in the written material. So it was essential that some form of field review be developed to evaluate a state program according to its actual operations. This led to the administrative review. If I were asked to name the most significant development in the grants-in-aid program in the last ten years I would say the administrative review. It was developed first in the Bureau of Public Assistance, but its value for both Federal and state officials was soon recognized. The Bureau of Employment Security also introduced it, and within the last year the Children's Bureau and the United States Public Health Service, after extensive experimentation, have adopted the program review as a method of evaluating state operations.

I am afraid we are sometimes not quite clear in our own minds as to the significance of this development, and certainly we have not carried the reorganization involved to its logical conclusion. The review was introduced to perform a function which had theretofore been inadequately performed by advance review of plan material, and by the fiscal audit of operations. Neither of these was satisfactory; at least, neither was adequate. While the auditor came in touch with actual operations, he was obviously not qualified to judge them in detail, in substance. The plan reviewers, presumably, were qualified to judge operations, but they came in contact only with written

material which admittedly was often ignored in practice. The only way to judge a state plan conscientiously was to see it at work, which meant field review by qualified professional people. The administrative review provided that. Having introduced the review, however, we have not dispensed with the activity which had proved ineffective. In the case of the audit we did. When the administrative review was introduced, the scope of the fiscal audit was drastically limited. The bureau staff was cut more than 50 percent. But the plan review activity has continued to grow as operations expanded. In order to round out the second period in Federal-state relations and take full advantage of the administrative review, this plan review procedure should be adjusted to its appropriate function, just as the audit has been since the introduction of the administrative review.

This does not mean that the state plan would become unimportant. Obviously, the plan has a real function. It is the basis on which a state qualifies for Federal grants. It must meet the requirements set forth in the Federal law. But for this purpose only a limited amount of basic material is necessary. The major portion of the material now being reviewed is of interest chiefly as an indication, not of basic policy, but of current operations. But for that purpose it has been found inadequate. The review does this much better. We are engaged, in the Office of Federal-State Relations and in the several bureaus, in re-examining the material submitted for formal approval with a view to reducing it to the minimum necessary to demonstrate that the Federal requirements are being met. This is really the final step in completing the reorganization.

I hasten to add that we must not fall into the error of making a fetish of this or any other one device. It is not an end in itself. Neither is it the only device on which we rely to judge the effectiveness of operations or to indicate the need for special attention to certain points. The review must be coördinated and integrated with other activities so that the whole will not only assure compliance with Federal requirements, but provide the most effective basis for Federal-state coöperation.

The third stage in this process of reorganization was begun in 1939 when the United States Public Health Service, the Office of Education, and the Social Security Board were grouped under the FSA. The general purpose, presumably, was to bring together the several activities which reflect the interest of the National Government in

the individual citizen, so that these agencies might develop together under a consistent national policy. This has been achieved in part. But experience indicates the desirability of further coördination, in part to eliminate overlapping and duplication of activities, but more particularly to assure uniform policies on the part of the various Federal agencies in dealing with the states. The reorganization of July, 1946, as I see it, was intended to accomplish this. Section 10 of Reorganization Plan No. 2 reads as follows:

In order to coördinate more fully the administration of grant-in-aid programs by officers and constituent units of the Federal Security Agency, the Federal Security Administrator shall establish, insofar as practicable, (a) uniform standards and procedures relating to fiscal, personnel, and other requirements common to two or more such programs, and (b) standards and procedures under which a State agency participating in more than one such program may submit a single plan of operation and be subject to a single Federal fiscal and administrative review of its operation.

To discharge his responsibility under this section the administrator established the Office of Federal-State Relations. The director of the Office is working with the several bureaus to simplify procedures and to reduce them to a more or less uniform pattern. As we look over the situation it seems that there are at least five groups of problems:

First is the elimination of overlapping or duplicating activities among the several units. This is actually less important than commonly believed, for the stories of duplication have been greatly exaggerated. Obviously, there is little or no duplication in the main functions of education, public assistance, employment security, public health, and the like. There are some areas where aid to dependent children impinges on child welfare work, some where maternal and child health comes in touch with public health functions; vocational rehabilitation and vocational education come in contact at certain points; but so far as the overwhelming proportion of the activities is concerned, either at Federal or state levels, they are in quite distinct fields. We are not ignoring such duplication or overlapping as exists. We realize that it is necessary to work out a uniform, if not a joint or single, approach in these areas where several programs meet. The coördination of activities and the avoidance of overlapping or duplication are facilitated by grouping the several agencies under one administrative head.

The second set of problems has to do with the definition of requirements in the several fields. This is of real interest to every unit and to every state agency with which we deal. We have not always distinguished sufficiently between what is required and what is suggested or recommended; and where there is a requirement, we have not been clear as to how much is required and how much more is recommended. I am aware, of course, that we do have a common interest in achieving something more than minimum required conditions. We like to see these programs made as good as available money and personnel can make them. But in these coöperative Federal-state grant-in-aid programs anything beyond a given minimum must be largely a matter of consultation, of advice, of assistance, and not of requirements which must be met as a condition of securing Federal funds. If we define the area of requirements as such and have it clearly understood that additional material is submitted on a voluntary basis, for information, for consultation, etc., there will, I believe, be less friction and less misunderstanding—and less overlapping—and probably more progress toward our common goals.

The formulation of these minimum requirements in terms of objective standards presents our third set of problems. Some requirements in the Federal legislation are explicit enough so that no further interpretation is required. But when the Federal law says that the state plan must provide such methods of administration as the Federal agency finds necessary for proper and efficient administration, there is relatively little to guide us in determining when this requirement has been met. One area in this general field is more specifically defined. The law says that methods of administration must include the establishment and maintenance of personnel standards on a merit basis. Experience with civil service over half a century has given us the generally accepted elements of such a system. Hence the Federal agencies, in 1939, coöperated in developing and releasing the merit system standards under which most of the FSA activities are now carried on. These standards are not perfect. They have not always been uniformly applied. They may not be equally applicable to all situations. But they have served very well as objective criteria for judging whether or not a state plan meets this particular requirement. Discussions are under way now ¹ looking toward the adoption of substantially these same standards by the FSA as uniformly

¹ April, 1947.

applicable in all the grant-in-aid programs under its jurisdiction.

In many other areas of administration we have no such standards. Some progress has been made in formulating fiscal standards and standards of accounting, but on the whole, we have evaluated such other methods on an *ad hoc* basis, judging each proposal as it comes to us, without being able to refer it to any objective standard which would govern all similar situations. Obviously, in making such decisions we do apply certain standards or criteria according to which a proposal is judged as acceptable or unacceptable, but such criteria have not been spelled out for others to see. An important part of our work in the immediate future is to identify such criteria in so far as possible so that all will be guided by the same standards.

Here we face the further difficulty that any standard requirement set by the Federal agency must be applicable uniformly throughout the nation. This means, in effect, that the standard must not only be objective, it must be a minimum standard, the least that will be accepted in any state as meeting the Federal requirements. Such minimum standards will not necessarily reflect what is considered good practice under favorable conditions. They will be lower than those already in effect in the better state systems. Many officials are genuinely concerned lest this might lead to a deterioration of standards and tend to discourage progress. If actual practice meets the specified standards, they contend, it will be difficult to urge further improvement. But this seems unduly pessimistic. Why should we assume that the statement of minimum requirements would prevent progress beyond the minimum? There is nothing to preclude the formulation of goals or objectives or ideals far above the minimum. But these cannot be made requirements, and they should not be confused with requirements. The trouble in the past has often been that we talked in terms of requirements, but formulated so-called "standards" which were not requirements but rather goals toward which to work. It is part of our purpose to develop minimum standards which must be met, and in the application of which the reviewing official has little or no discretion, and distinguish these from the additional, higher objectives which may be recommended or urged as good practice but which will not raise questions of conformity.

The fourth set of problems has to do with the possibility of developing a single plan in those cases where a single state agency now submits separate plans to two or more units of the FSA. For example,

the state public health department submits separate plans for its public health activities and for maternal and child health, and if it has charge of the crippled children's program a third plan is required. A state welfare department may submit plans for public assistance and a separate plan for child welfare. Yet all these activities are under the FSA, and the question naturally arises as to why separate plans are necessary. Some little progress has been made toward having one plan for any one state agency. The Public Health Service and the Children's Bureau have developed a joint budget and are engaged in working out a joint program review. The Bureau of Public Assistance has developed a single plan for aid to the aged, the blind, and dependent children wherever a single state agency is responsible for these several programs. The Public Health Service has a composite plan for all its various activities. So there has been some progress. Similar integration in state organization is at least equally important. At present one Federal agency frequently has to deal with a number of state agencies. The Bureau of Public Assistance, for example, often has to deal with three separate state agencies—one for the blind, one for the aged, and one for dependent children. The Children's Bureau often deals with the Public Health Service, the welfare department, and perhaps a separate board in charge of the crippled children's program. So this matter of a single state plan needs to be examined from both sides. If we can identify all requirements and establish common standards in all instances where there are similar requirements, a single plan for any one state agency can readily be developed.

The final problem is that of having a single fiscal and administrative review of operations. Presumably, a single review would be more economical for the FSA and would cause less inconvenience to the state. So far as economy is concerned, this will depend on the amount and nature of work to be done. Much has been said about the duplication of effort when, actually, there is no duplication. The same type of work, e.g., auditing, may be done by each of several units, but if the materials reviewed are different there is no duplication. Moreover, if there is enough work in each unit to keep the auditors fully occupied, there would be no economy in a single audit. The possibility or desirability of a single fiscal audit would seem to depend largely upon the training required in order to cover a group of different activities instead of only one, and the value of the incidental

service an auditor may render if he specializes in one program rather than covering a variety of fields. As for the inconvenience to the state, it would seem to make little difference whether a given auditor covers one program or a much wider field. In either case the work can be arranged so it can be done by a larger group of men working for a shorter period, or by fewer persons working for a longer period, depending upon what seems most convenient to the state officials.

The program review is a somewhat different matter. Its purpose is to see how the activity in question is actually being carried on, how it affects people, whether the substantive standards are being observed, etc. These are matters which must be judged by people who are skilled in the particular programs. A single program review covering old age assistance, child welfare, and public health, for example, would be all but meaningless. The nature and the purpose of the program review are such that as long as there are specialized programs the review must be related directly and intimately to each program. It is a matter, not only of evaluation, but of consultation, and advice, and assistance. No over-all review can serve this purpose. If we reduce the requirements to the minimum and develop common minimum standards for all common requirements, I dare say this matter of review can be worked out without too much difficulty.

This is the present status of our reorganization. The external structure is fairly complete. The FSA contains within its framework all those activities of the National Government devoted to the general welfare of its citizens. The approach through the grants-in-aid programs is fundamentally sound. It enables us to bring the financial resources of the nation to bear on these needs wherever they exist, while maintaining and strengthening the position of state and local governments. But we must perfect the system so that it may more effectively serve its purpose. The Federal bureaus must simplify their procedures and develop precise, objective, minimum standards for the guidance of their own staff and of state officials. State officials must accept more responsibility, and see that their operations meet these standards without detailed advance approval by Federal officials.

We have the promise of one additional step in reorganization. Several bills have been introduced in Congress to give the Federal Security Agency cabinet status. While there are some differences in the detailed provisions of the several bills, the general effect would

be the same in all cases. Whether it should be a Department of Health, Welfare, and Education; or a Department of Education, Health, and Welfare; or a Department of Welfare, Health, and Education depends on whether one is talking to a doctor, an educator, or a welfare worker. The order is of little importance. What is important is that the country recognize welfare activities as one of the major interests of the National Government and makes a place for these in the councils of government along with war, commerce, justice, and the rest. Clearly, these activities are important enough to warrant such recognition. I think I can safely say that we have made enough progress in our internal organization so that the change to cabinet status would involve little further reorganization. It is for us only to carry on the unfinished work that has been thus far advanced.

SOCIAL INSURANCE AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN THE LONG FUTURE

By Oscar M. Powell

WE ON THE WEST COAST live in a region in which the public assistance programs have been developed more highly than in any other region in the country. This high degree of development has thrown into sharp relief assistance costs and questions as to sources of revenue and relationship of public assistance to social insurance. Whether we would or no, we have had to examine these and other questions and to look for answers—answers that will protect the citizen in his rights and needs and safeguard the state from an unsupportably heavy tax burden.

It would be well to review briefly the development of social security programs in this country from 1935, and to consider the results which have been achieved. In the light of that summary, we shall be able, perhaps, to anticipate with some degree of accuracy what the future holds.

As of June, 1946 (the last date for which we have complete figures), governmental agencies were spending at the rate of more than \$2,500,000,000 a year for assistance to the aged, the blind, for dependent children, for general relief, for payments under Federal old age and survivors insurance and the railroad retirement program, and for the state-Federal programs of unemployment insurance. This gross outlay does not include costs of administration nor expenditures made by private charitable organizations.

Out of this total bill, \$1,100,000,000 went for unemployment insurance payments. Reference to these payments is pertinent at this point only to show the extent to which need arising from unemployment, which would otherwise have to be met through general relief, is being met through this program. Of the \$1,550,000,000 balance, the states and counties disbursed \$650,000,000 from their own resources; the Federal Government expended \$520,000,000 by way of grants-in-aid programs and \$480,000,000 through the Social Security Administration and the Railroad Retirement Board.

In 1936 expenditures for the aged, blind, dependent children, and other needy persons amounted to approximately \$650,000,000. In 1940, when old age and survivors insurance payments began, this amount had risen to over \$1,000,000,000. In that same year, insurance payments under the Federal system amounted to only \$40,000,000.

For the fiscal year 1946 the total for both had grown to over \$1,400,000,000, of which roughly \$1,066,000,000 was paid out through the state welfare departments and \$336,000,000 through the insurance system. The number of persons aided by these programs has likewise increased during these years. In 1936 the old age assistance rolls included some 1,108,000 persons; in 1940, 2,070,000; and in 1946, 2,108,000. Beneficiaries under Old Age and Survivors Insurance increased from 250,000 at the end of the first year in which payments were made to 1,900,000 in 1946. It is significant, also, to note that average monthly payments to needy aged persons have increased from \$17.55 in 1936 to \$31.48 in 1946, and that the per capita cost of assistance to the aged rose from \$3.61 in 1940 to \$8.33 in 1946.

Passage of the Social Security Act in 1935 followed lengthy studies by the President's Committee on Economic Security and extensive consideration by committees of Congress. The act, adopted by bipartisan and overwhelming vote in both Houses of Congress, sought to meet the problem of financial assistance for aged people in two different ways. It established a system for the payment of annuities on a contributory insurance basis for workers in commerce and industry for whom, at that time, Congress considered such a program administratively feasible. Payments for retired workers were provided for by a specific formula which, because of the social nature of the program, was weighted in favor of the low-income worker. It was assumed by Congress that such a worker would not be able to provide entirely for his needs after retirement at age sixty-five. Studies made both before and since passage of the act have confirmed the correctness of this assumption.

Primarily because of lack of administrative experience, the protection of the social insurance program was not extended to workers in agriculture, in domestic service, in religious, charitable, and educational institutions, in public employment, and to the self-employed. This decision—a considered and deliberate one—to embark upon a limited insurance program only has clearly and largely

affected the development of social insurance and public assistance in the past twelve years. I believe that some of these consequences have been so significant for all the people of the nation that, had they been foreseen, they might have changed the decision to limit the protection to certain classes. Certainly, these consequences now appear to me to be such as to indicate the need for change.

The administrative difficulties which were originally foreseen need no longer stand in the way. Experience gained since 1935 has been sufficient to assure the Social Security Administration of the feasibility of covering the entire working force of the country. There no longer exists any good reason why all the working people of the United States cannot be protected against the risk of wage loss due to old age or premature death.

The second approach established by the Social Security Act differs radically from that used in the insurance program. Title I of the act authorizes grants to the states to aid them in assisting needy aged persons. These Federal grants specify, among other conditions, that the state will determine individual need and, in so doing, will take into account the income and resources of the individual. There is no provision for the application of a means test in the insurance program.

The cost of the Federal old age and survivors insurance program will continue to increase as the system matures, as more persons acquire insurance status, and as more of them reach retirement age. This increase in cost was anticipated by Congress at the time of the passage of the act and is a natural consequence of the development of the system. I have no reason to believe that the cost of public assistance, including general relief, will be reduced in the future below what it is today, or, even, that it will not continue to grow.

It is interesting and, I think, significant, that as the two programs devoted to the problem of meeting the needs of the aged have developed, the great mass of retired workers in commerce and industry are receiving annuity payments without investigation as to their needs, incomes, or resources. At the same time, the great mass of retired workers in other fields must apply for old age assistance, with its attendant determination of individual need, and possession, or lack, of income and resources. This same difference applies to children receiving payments under the Federal insurance program and children receiving Aid to Dependent Children assistance. There is, however, no fundamental differences in their conditions or needs. The differ-

ence in the treatment is a consequence of the sharp difference in the approach to the problem of the two systems.

The public assistance and social insurance programs have had some interesting results and some that are of importance for the states and the general taxpayers, for recipients and potential recipients, for the general development of social security, and for the maintenance of individual and national purchasing power. As public assistance rolls and average payments have risen, as demands upon state and local funds have increased, the problems involved in financing these programs have become clearer. We are able to see, today, more clearly than ten or twelve years ago, what a continuation of the present trend means, and will continue to mean, to the individual. We are able now to make a realistic appraisal of the economic effects of our present social security system.

The old age and survivors insurance program, as was anticipated, is more effective where commerce and industry are concentrated than in rural and semirural areas. The states along the Eastern seaboard and around the Great Lakes are better served than are the states of the South and West. It was inevitable that more people, in absolute numbers and proportionately, would receive insurance payments in industrial states than in those where agriculture predominates, and that the proportion of payments would be greater. It is also true that payments per capita are larger in the industrial states. Conversely, the rate per 1,000 aged population of persons on public assistance is larger in the agricultural states.

It was contemplated when the Social Security Act was passed that as the insurance program matured, the need for public assistance, both old age assistance and aid to dependent children, would decline. This result, however, has accrued largely to the recipients and the taxpayers of the industrial states, appreciably less to the same groups in the agricultural states. This shift, of course, cannot be made unless agricultural workers are given the right to participate in, and receive benefits from, old age and survivors insurance.

The general taxpayers of the agricultural states are bearing a disproportionately heavy burden, both for the retirement of their workers and for the care of the families of those who die prematurely. Today, most agricultural workers grow specialized crops, sell them for cash, and purchase the goods they need. The argument has been advanced that the general taxpayers in the agricultural states not

only finance the retirement of their own agricultural workers, but, as consumers of goods manufactured in the industrial states, also help to pay, through increased costs, for the retirement of industrial workers. This is predicated upon the thesis that contributions required to finance the insurance program are passed on to the consumer in the cost of manufactured goods.

It seems evident that a revision of the Federal Social Security Act which would give its protection to all the working people of the country would result in financial advantage to the general taxpayers of the agricultural states. While the general taxpayers of the country, and particularly those of the nonindustrial states, would benefit from full coverage, a greater and more lasting benefit would accrue to the individual for whose benefit these systems were devised.

At present, in most of the agricultural states, many farm workers spend some time working in factories or mills or lumbering enterprises which are covered by social insurance. Too often such covered employment is of short duration and is infrequent. The farm worker, when thus sporadically employed in commerce or industry, must pay his contribution into the insurance system. Unlike the full-time commercial and industrial worker, however, his eligibility is precarious and the amount of his payments small. Insurance payments depend, not only upon covered employment, but also upon the amount and continuity of wages earned in such employment.

Workers who are protected under social insurance, no matter in what state they might live and work, build up through their own and their employers' contributions rights to payments which are fixed by law and bear a direct relation to their past earnings. Agricultural workers, however, must apply for assistance under the law of the state of their residence and may receive, if they are found to be in need, an amount which will vary according to the law of the state and the financial provision made by its legislature. The average retired agricultural worker in one state will receive benefits of more than \$53 a month, while in another state he would receive less than \$12. Similar results, consequent on accident of geographical location, will follow application on behalf of his surviving children if the worker dies.

There is no question but that there are differences in costs of living between different parts of the country. There is likewise no question but that such differences as exist between the levels of assist-

ance granted by different states can hardly be justified on this basis. The obvious inequities in the financial provisions made for retired agricultural and other noncovered workers and their surviving children would be largely eliminated if all the gainfully employed in the country were protected alike by our social insurance laws.

In addition to the need for extending the Federal insurance system there is the very real need for insurance against wage loss due to disability. At the present time there is no provision for insurance against such loss in the Social Security Act. The cost of general relief is borne by the state without financial help from the Federal Government. Inclusion of provision for insurance against the risk of permanent and total disability should result in financial relief to the general taxpayers of all the states, to the extent that their general relief load is made up of persons who are physically or mentally incapacitated to support themselves.

It is true, I think, that the plight of the worker's family may be even worse in the case of his total and permanent disability than if he were to reach age sixty-five in normal health, or even if he were to die prematurely. Hospital and medical costs in the case of such disability constitute an unbearable strain on what little resources a family has. The stake of the individual noncovered worker in an insurance system which would protect him and his family in the event of such disability is great. Such workers do not now, usually, enjoy the protection of insurance against the financial consequences of work-connected disabilities. The state workmen's compensation laws do not cover agricultural workers. Their only recourse is to general assistance.

Revenues to finance the cost of public assistance are derived from a variety of sources. Provision is made on an annual or biennial basis for the anticipated costs of the succeeding year or two years. In some states these revenues are raised from sales or other taxes, which in good times yield large returns when, presumably, public assistance needs are low, but when economic conditions are bad, yield lower returns. When such tax yields are reduced because of depression conditions, the number of people to be served increases. The state is faced with the dilemma of reducing assistance payments or of raising additional revenue at a time when its taxpayers are ill prepared to pay the additional tax.

This method of short-time financing of mass need, particularly for

retired and disabled workers and their families, is of questionable soundness. The arrangement adopted by Congress for financing insurance annuity payments on a long-time basis with accumulated reserves seems better adapted to the purpose. A similar device would serve equally well in financing the need of disabled workers and retired workers in agriculture and other occupations which are not now covered by the insurance system.

An even more serious objection, however, can be raised to the present method of financing the provisions for retired agricultural workers. The per capita income of agricultural states, as I have mentioned before, is below that of the states having a concentration of industrial and commercial activity. This disparity means greater need in the rural states, and substantially lower state revenues with which to meet that need.

The disadvantages of the present system carry important consequences for the nation. President Truman in his report to the Congress on the economic prospects of the country mentioned the significance of social security payments in maintaining purchasing power. It can be truly said that the Federal insurance system aids the national economy by helping to stabilize the market for goods. When the aged and the dependent survivors of deceased workers have no income, buying power decreases and markets tend to contract, production is cut, and unemployment results. Payments to these groups help to prevent violent swings of the business cycle. They help maintain purchasing power and so act as a brake on a depression.

It is comparatively easy to take the data which have been accumulated in the operation of these programs and to arrive at some conclusions as to the financial consequences to the taxpayer and the recipient. It is more difficult to appraise the intangible results. There is considerable room for difference of opinion, I realize, as to the moral and psychological benefits to the country as a whole and to its citizens as individuals. I make the following comments or suggestions as my own personal ideas, formed, perhaps, by my own predilections as well as by my experience.

We know that the great bulk of the people who are now receiving old age assistance are pretty well able, except for the lack of money, to take care of themselves. Most of them are normal human beings who do not need any advice or help in living their lives or spending their money. The great bulk of them probably do not

need and do not want any of those "social services" that attempt to manage them.

We know, however, that it is not possible for the worker with a small income to save out of his wages enough to take care of himself in old age. We know, also, that he cannot put by enough to protect his family in case of his death or to protect himself and his family if he is disabled. We know, further, that when this worker becomes old, he and his family will still have to buy certain fundamental necessities. An insurance system, I believe, can well and economically provide for these basic needs.

I suggest that the psychology of dependence upon the state is undesirable. I believe that most people prefer to pay for what they get and to provide for themselves if they can. The present British system of social security is very largely a contributory one. The reason for this is twofold: The British experience over several hundred years in the use of the means test to meet mass needs has not been a happy one. Secondly, the British people prefer to contribute to, and, in effect, pay for, a definitely determinable benefit, even though that benefit is small. Despite all the work we have done in this country to convince people that public assistance is a right, I believe that there exists here a similar preference for an annuity toward which the individual has himself contributed.

I suggest, also, that a contributory plan of social insurance is an incentive to individual thrift. I believe that if the individual has contributed toward, and knows that he will receive, a certain sum upon reaching age sixty-five, he will be more likely to make an effort to supplement that sum than would otherwise be the case. It is easier and requires less denial to provide for the supplementation than to provide for the whole. The fact that a very small percentage of the beneficiaries under old age and survivors insurance have applied for supplementary aid from old age assistance, plus the fact that commercial insurance companies have sold an increasingly large number of annuity policies during the life of the Social Security Act, is strong evidence in support of my suggestion.

Many of the increases which have occurred in the average public assistance payments have followed logically the rise in living costs. Some of the increases, perhaps, have been hastened by pressure from organized groups. I am not opposed to payments which are adequate for the needs of the individuals concerned; on the contrary, I think

that in many parts of the country, payments are cruelly inadequate. I do say, however, that payments have to be paid for, and that the people should understand how they are financed. I say, further, that more widespread knowledge of the relationship between contributions and the right to benefits would add to this understanding; and, even more important, would act as a brake on the drives for "something for nothing," which some people apparently think possible of achievement.

This country has made tremendous strides in the welfare field in the past two decades, and social workers have been largely responsible for this progress. Of improvements in administration, there have been many. My hope is that we will not only maintain these gains, but also add to them, that we will approach ever more closely to the goal of adequacy and equity of treatment.

A revulsion in public feeling against the whole idea of social security does not seem to me to be a fantastic impossibility, in the light of the load the general taxpayer is having to carry for the support of public assistance. I believe that one way of preventing this catastrophe is to shift the responsibility for meeting the basic financial needs of the working population from the general taxpayer to an insurance system, the device which Winston Churchill called "the magic of averages."

I believe, finally, that we should be prepared on two fronts:

First, we should be prepared to advocate the need for, and support a plan for, financing public welfare which is rational and feasible; one which will give some assurance that the needs of individuals will continue to be recognized as a public responsibility supported by, and met through, government.

Secondly, we should be prepared to support and defend the need for public assistance programs. No social insurance program, in my opinion, is likely to be financed on a scale high enough to meet the needs of all our people under all circumstances. Unfortunately, there will always be cases—many of them—which will require individual treatment, the supplementation of insurance to meet particular and urgent need, cases which will require professional advice and services. It would be tragic to abandon to an insurance program those unfortunates whose condition requires guidance and service which by its very nature insurance is not equipped to provide.

To my mind, the arrangement I have outlined would provide an

opportunity for relieving the state departments of public welfare of the mass job of disbursing public funds to people whose basic need is financial. It would permit the use by such departments of their professional staffs to give service or supplementation in cases where need is beyond that which can be provided for by insurance. Further, it would permit the social work profession, through such public agencies, to play the important and significant part in the life of the country which it alone is best equipped to play.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

By Donald S. Howard

THE PAST FEW YEARS HAVE WITNESSED two developments of transcending importance in public assistance: (1) a marked decline in the relative importance of public assistance as opposed to other public aid measures which have been greatly extended; (2) a marked improvement in the quality of public assistance.

During the war years American public aid programs were virtually revolutionized. This is attributable in large part, of course, to the unusually high levels of employment which prevailed. However, the revolution was also furthered by the development of public aid programs other than public assistance.

What we now term "social insurance and related programs" amounted in 1936 to only about one third of our public expenditures for direct and work relief. In 1942 amounts spent on relief and assistance were approximately equal to those spent under social insurance and related programs. By 1944 expenditures for the latter had more than doubled, and in 1945 they amounted to almost three times the nation's expenditures for assistance. Thus, in a ten-year period the position of public assistance vis-à-vis other security measures was exactly reversed.

This transition from assistance to other types of provision was, of course, contemplated when the social security program was enacted and when subsequent measures were established. However, from the first it was realized that assistance would continue to fill gaps in other programs and to meet particular needs not provided for through the more general insurance schemes.

While this revolution is to be welcomed, one cannot but wonder whether public assistance may not have fallen to indefensibly low levels. This fear appears to be particularly justified in the case of general assistance. Although reports from the current legislative sessions are not yet available from all states, there are, nevertheless, certain indications that state public assistance appropriations have

fallen sharply below budget estimates, that administrative budgets have been severely cut back, that restrictive provisions have either been re-enacted or have been established for the first time. Again, it appears to be general assistance which has been hardest hit.

From the preliminary information available it does not seem that these recessions are due exclusively or even largely to shortage of funds. In at least some of the states which suffered serious cutbacks in their public assistance appropriations, funds for educational purposes were considerably increased. This shifting of expenditures from one category to another is attributable to the widespread publicity which has been given to the inadequacy of teachers' salaries and to the renewed emphasis upon the importance of education. Unfortunately, comparable agitation for the improvement of salaries of public welfare workers and for the raising of assistance standards has been almost wholly lacking.

The seriousness of the old inadequacies of our assistance programs and of new threats to them is heightened by the possibility that we may be facing an economic recession which would inevitably increase the calls upon public assistance agencies. It is a grave question whether or not these agencies will be or can be made ready in time to meet heavily increased demands.

Regardless of emergencies which may have to be met, it is important that the public assistance sectors of our national defenses against need and insecurity be maintained intact. For a long time to come these will be indispensable even though the revolution is continued and nonassistance measures assume increasingly important roles in our total public aid program. Even New Zealand, which has extremely well-developed and broad security measures, still requires a safety net for the protection of those few persons who for one reason or another are not adequately served through insurance and related schemes.

In contrast with the declining role of public assistance has been the somewhat disturbing resurgence of opinion favoring assistance as opposed to social insurance and related security provisions. This is attributable, in part, to a failure to appreciate the real nature of insurance. This failure, in turn, breeds resentment that unemployed workers may draw security benefits while jobs—though of lower grades and requiring different skills from those to which the workers are accustomed—are available.

The apparent cheapness of assistance as opposed to the cost of insurance is doubtless a factor also. Evidences of the increased popularity of assistance may be found in widespread criticism of insurance programs and in the steps taken by Congress to freeze social insurance taxes, with the result that resources may one day be inadequate for the payment of appropriate insurance benefits, thus necessitating further reliance upon assistance.

A recent book by a prominent student of public administration advocates the elimination of benefits upon an insurance basis and proposes that all kinds of public aid be in the form of assistance, and on a needs basis. To most observers, however, this proposal represents an undesirable reversal of policy and a regrettable attempt to return to a position which in 1935 and 1936 we were glad to abandon.

Although gains made during recent years have been good, they have not been good enough. Among the many novel experiences that one enjoys through work with the United Nations is to hear representatives from countries like Denmark, Sweden, and Norway refer to this country—social-security-wise—as a backward nation. Before us now lies the challenge to develop improved social measures which will excel “social security and related programs” by as wide a margin as these services surpass assistance.

Among the more constructive social services upon which attention must now be focused are employment stabilization and compensatory public employment programs; wider application of the principle of the annual wage; and the adoption of a program of family or children's allowances to permit our basic wage structure adequately to meet the needs of families with children.

The past few years have seen impressive advances within public assistance itself. In fact, some of these gains have been so important that they have considerably narrowed the margin by which public assistance was previously surpassed by certain other welfare measures. Indeed, some of the improvements are beginning to make public assistance look so attractive that its extension is being advocated even at the expense of broader social welfare measures that are really needed. This is true, for example, in medical care. As a consequence, forces interested in the extension of such care are in danger of being divided between those seeking only to extend care to medically needy persons and those who are determined to secure an improved level of medical care for the American people as a whole.

Among important gains may be noted more adequate standards of assistance, the tendency toward greater uniformity, and the greater respect being shown recipients. The adequacy of assistance must be measured, not only in terms of what is provided, but also in terms of the proportion of those needing assistance who actually receive the aid they require. Moreover, adequacy must be measured, not only in terms of increased amounts, but in terms of what these amounts can actually buy. It is difficult indeed fully to appraise the adequacy of assistance grants against rising living costs. Nevertheless, there has been an encouraging increase in the grants even though they have probably lagged behind steadily rising price levels.

It has been heartening indeed to see that within the past several years the number of items recognized as necessary for family living has been gradually increased. Whereas assistance standards at one time provided for only the most elementary purchases, we now find standards in the more progressive states allowing as many as ten or twelve items. In addition to the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter these include education, recreation, household equipment and supplies, and even small amounts not designated for any specific purpose except to be available for unforeseen contingencies. It has been refreshing indeed to see that budget provision is made in some localities for cleaning fluid so that assistance recipients may keep their clothes in presentable condition. For many years budgets have included provision for haircuts for the menfolks. Something new has recently been added, however, in provision for the care of the hair of women. Recent first-hand study of assistance standards has also disclosed instances in which money for music lessons has been allowed. In at least one Middle Western community provision was made for a football uniform and for enough pocket money to permit a boy from an assistance-receiving family to play and travel with his high school football team. These advances carry assistance budgets considerably beyond the level required for absolutely minimal physical requirements and, obviously, reflect broader psychological and social needs as well.

Under prevailing circumstances it is not surprising that assistance grants occasionally run into amounts of \$100, \$200, or perhaps even \$300 for a single family in a single month. Inevitably, budgets of this magnitude eventually arouse community criticism unless their purpose is clearly interpreted.

In some instances, administrators, fearful of community attitudes, have shrunk from the responsibility of meeting need as they find it and, instead, have asked for the establishment—or re-establishment—of ceilings that will make it impossible to grant assistance in excess of some legally prescribed limit. This would appear to be the course for defeatists. The more courageous alternative would be to institute immediately such programs of public interpretation as might be necessary to permit public assistance adequately to meet the requirements of recipients even though this might require payments of considerable magnitude and might even mean that families would be granted more than they could normally expect to earn in wages.

Further steps which are indicated include the provision of vocational training, or retraining, and other rehabilitation services calculated to increase the earning capacity of families who need more than their breadwinners are currently earning. In the final analysis, however, we must admit the hard fact that there will probably always be difficulty in interpreting assistance grants that are in excess of average wage levels. Therefore, it is none too soon to think about adjusting our basic wage structure so that it, too, can take account of the needs of large families. Unless this is done we are likely to face a long program of public interpretation which may or may not succeed in lessening resentment over conflicts between assistance grants which are adequate, and levels of earnings which are not adequate, to care for a family.

Increasingly, states are becoming concerned that assistance grants shall be adequate. To some extent, greater uniformity is being achieved through stronger state leadership in such matters as the setting of standards. These may prescribe actual amounts that local assistance authorities should provide, or they may prescribe lists of items for which provision should be made in accordance with local prices. Yet another device which is being applied with increasing frequency is the principle of equalization in the distribution of state funds.

The greater respect being shown for recipients of assistance is perhaps most obvious in the trend toward administering assistance as if it were a right. Whether or not recipients have an enforceable legal right to assistance is not the point here at issue. Even in the absence of such a right public assistance executives are increasingly administering their programs as if such a right actually did exist. Mean-

while, they are working toward the legal recognition of that right.

Administering public assistance as if it were a right really makes a tremendous difference. It does not permit pushing people around, or giving or withholding assistance upon condition that recipients subscribe to any specified political creed or perform any prescribed act.

The importance of administering assistance in a thoroughly respectable manner was unforgettably impressed upon me in London. I had reached the scene of a V-2 "incident" while dust from the explosion still hung in the air. Very soon relief officers were at work. Almost immediately there appeared a woman who had just been bombed out. Her disheveled hair still had bits of plaster clinging to it, and she was covered from head to foot with fine dust. Having received emergency funds from the assistance officer, the woman was about to sign a receipt for the money when, pencil poised in mid-air, she looked into the face of the officer, asking, "Now, this ain't chīr'ity, is it?"

That resistance, even under the cruel impact of a V-2, to acceptance of what might have seemed to be "chīr'ity" has forever underlined for me the importance of administering assistance services, not as though they were a charity or a gratuity, but as something to which recipients, as human beings, are entitled. The officer convinced the little lady. She proudly signed her name, held her disheveled head high, and accepted the money which was hers—not as charity, but as a right.

Although assistance standards have been raised, many grants are still critically inadequate. In one state, assistance grants admittedly represented only 50 to 60 percent of budget deficits. In a near-by state general assistance grants to unemployable persons are only about 30 percent of what they should be to span the gap between family requirements and family income. In several areas in one state the maximum amount allowed to entire families receiving general assistance was \$2.50 per month regardless of the extent of family need.

Even more deplorable is the plight of those needy persons who are ineligible for public assistance. Perhaps their problem is one of residence, or perhaps, though unable to find work, they are regarded as employable. A recent study of general assistance in fifteen states disclosed that in all but a small handful of these states, to be employ-

able meant that one was ineligible for public assistance regardless of the extent of need.

Assistance standards like these are indefensible. When I recently asked an administrator how people could possibly get along on the assistance which they received he replied "You know, I often wonder, myself." It is not enough for us to wonder. It is a primary and inescapable responsibility of those who are associated with, or even interested in, the administration of public assistance to know how people get along or do not get along on the assistance granted.

It has always seemed to me that if assistance standards remain too low, and our programs inadequate, it is because those who know the real effects of such shortsighted policies do not let our fellow citizens know about them too. This is particularly important in view of the unrealistic romanticism that frequently attaches to poverty and the struggle against it. Sure, there's a tree that grows in Brooklyn. But, look how it grew. Is that your idea of a tree?

Lest an incautious public think that this is all there is to stories like this, social workers have a peculiar obligation. Relentlessly, we must keep reporting that although there are occasional trees that grow against odds, there are many more that wither and die. We must report and keep reporting that there are many barren spots in Brooklyn and in places other than Brooklyn in which trees cannot even get a start.

Just as assistance given to recipients is often grossly inadequate, so also are the numbers who are granted aid. Despite our claims that "waiting lists" do not exist, we cannot pretend that all applicants actually receive the assistance they require. We may not call them "waiting lists," yet the wait, by any other name, is just as long. In one state no new applicant for old age assistance had been granted aid within a period of three months. In another state an administrator told me that he faced the choice of revising budget standards (which had not been revised for nearly three years) to conform to current price levels or of accepting new applications—he could not do both.

Most inadequate of all, of course, are our provisions for general assistance. In many areas this is not available. In certain areas the expedient resorted to is to ask voluntary agencies to take over the task of the public agency. While this measure might, for the moment at least, appear to meet the need of the general assistance applicant, it must not be overlooked that such a diversion of the resources of pri-

vate agencies merely penalizes individuals or families who are thereby deprived of services which they need fully as much as general assistance recipients require financial aid.

Because of the lack of adequate measuring sticks it is impossible to judge the margin by which assistance programs in the various states fall short of the need in those states. However, if one assumes that the federally administered and federally financed program of veteran unemployment benefits is relatively uniformly administered, this offers what is perhaps the best available gauge by which assistance measures may be appraised. Circumstances being what they are, it is not surprising that the ratio between the number aided under the veteran unemployment program and those aided under public assistance varies widely from state to state. As would be expected, the variation in the case of general assistance is most striking. For example, in the state having the highest ratio between the number of cases granted general assistance and the number of veterans receiving unemployment benefits, this ratio was no less than ninety-five times that in the state in which the proportion between general assistance cases and veteran benefit recipients was lowest. This marked disparity highlights the wide diversity in our assistance programs.

There is still vast room for improvement, too, in the respect shown for recipients of public assistance. I think, for example, of a public assistance office where the officer in charge kept on a wall immediately opposite the door the pictures of six Negroes whom he had helped to "send over the road." These men, with the assistance officer's coöperation, had been given sentences varying from ninety days to more than twenty years. When asked about the significance of the pictures, he replied that all the men involved were well known in the community and that having their pictures prominently displayed had a "sobering effect" upon Negroes who asked for assistance.

In another locality I was told of the practice of one assistance officer. Whenever he saw a recipient of assistance either driving a car or visiting a tavern, the assistance officer would sit down and write himself a letter. These letters, falsely signed by "The Citizens Committee," purported to be the protest of a group of citizens at the expenditure of tax funds for assistance to anyone seen in a tavern or driving a car. When the individual about whom the letter was written would apply for further assistance, the forged letter would be presented as evidence that the community would not stand for help-

ing him further. If, after repeated refusals of further aid, the applicant continued to plead for help, for his family, if not for himself, the assistance officer would announce that "The Citizens Committee" would meet in two weeks. If the applicant would sign a statement saying that, if granted relief, he would never again visit a tavern or drive a car, the officer promised that he would see what might be done. There was no apparent concern on the part of the assistance officer as to what might happen to the applicant in the intervening two-week period.

Unfortunately, it is true that social security measures can be so used to control the lives of their intended beneficiaries that they might conceivably help to build a road to serfdom. But they need not necessarily have this deplorable effect. Divested of devices for control and regimentation, security measures can indeed become a road to freedom. It seems to me no accident that in our Constitution mention of the "right to liberty" follows immediately mention of the "right to life." It is these two rights which it is our privilege to help make effectual. They can be attained only as we stop pushing people around merely because they find themselves in economic need, as we increasingly administer security measures as if they were rights, and, finally, as we gain legal recognition of these rights.

ADEQUATE PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICES FOR MIGRANTS

By Jane M. Hoey

ONE OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN LIFE from the earliest days has been mobility. People have always moved in search of better opportunities. The right to do so is a principle upon which this country was founded.

Little public concern has ever been expressed about the movement of those who in their new locale can support themselves and adapt themselves successfully to local conditions. Concern is expressed, however, when the newcomers overtax public facilities, need financial assistance, belong to a minority racial group, or behave in a manner that is contrary to the mores of the community. As a result, certain attitudes and restrictions have developed, especially in connection with those who are apt to require financial assistance or those who stay only a short time and move on to another state or community.

In 1941 the United States Supreme Court¹ said that if states were permitted to curtail the movement of those who are destitute, it would prevent a person, "because he were poor from seeking new horizons in other States. It might thus withhold from large segments of our people that mobility which is basic to any guarantee of freedom of opportunity."

Migration was an accepted way of life during the second World War. Workers were recruited to man defense and war activities in distant communities. Between December, 1941, and March, 1945, it is estimated that 6 percent of our total population moved to a different state. Was our acceptance of this movement based on the thought that this was essential only to the war effort, or on the knowledge that substantial migration is necessary also in a peacetime economy?

None of us would seriously question that our economy demands the migration of large numbers of people to meet the seasonal needs of agriculture, industry, and transportation. In agriculture, without

¹ *Edwards v. State of California*, 3/4 U.S. 160 (1941).

migrant labor during peak seasons, crops would be lost, much of the investment and effort of food producers and processors would be sacrificed, and, as a result, prices of perishable commodities would rise. On the Eastern and Western seaboard seasonal workers follow the crops as they mature. Many migrant families specialize in a particular type of work, such as bean-picking, potato-harvesting, and fruit- or cotton-picking. They follow the route from South to North that provides opportunity for the same type of work in several areas. Others work during the winter with the vegetable crops and during the spring, summer, and fall with the fruit crops, in canning, or in harvesting sugar beets. Wheat is harvested by workers who come from near and far, some of them crossing state lines many times during a season.

Similarly, there are many who move about to work on construction jobs, in the oil fields, on railroads, and on ships.

In addition to those who routinely follow their regular work from community to community are those who move from depressed areas to a community where there is a possibility of employment or a better job, and the unemployed who wander from place to place seeking some satisfactory and permanent means of subsistence.

The Federal Government, during the last fifteen years, has become increasingly conscious of the basic defects in this mode of life and of problems arising in connection with migrant labor. According to the report of the Tolan Committee of the House of Representatives that investigated the interstate migration of destitute citizens, it was when the economic decline set in after 1929 that the press and the public began to talk about "the problem of migration." That same report indicates that mobility had not been a problem earlier because such movements had been related to new work opportunities in communities of expanding economy. The report also used the term "pull of opportunity" as the dominant factor in migration for the earlier periods, and the term "push of poverty" for the dominant factor of the 1930s.

In the fall of 1942 and spring of 1943 the supply of American labor became so critical that railroads found it impossible to maintain their trackage, essential industries lacked manpower, and in certain areas there was danger of losing crops. The Federal Government consequently developed a program to transport workers to areas of critical need from areas of supply in the United States and from certain for-

eign countries. Some two million citizens from Mexico and the British West Indies were brought to this country, and Italian and German prisoners of war were utilized in areas where other workers were not available.

In negotiating for foreign workers, the Federal Government found that the foreign governments demanded certain guarantees. Agreements were therefore entered into covering wages, continuity of employment, transportation, housing, placement, health and medical services, and repatriation. Those agreements involved the two governments, the worker and the Federal Government, and the employer and the Federal Government.

To meet the requirements of foreign contracts or of army regulations or to make possible recruitment in areas far from where labor was needed, several things happened that indicate progress in the utilization of migrant labor. Employers and employers' coöperatives determined in advance the wages to be paid, assumed responsibility for providing adequate housing and feeding, made appropriate guarantees regarding continuity of employment, and provided accurate advance information regarding these conditions. Training programs were conducted for inexperienced workers.

This experience with domestic transported workers, inexperienced workers from towns and cities, migrant workers, foreign workers, and prisoners of war shows that something can be done to direct effectively the movement of workers. If this can happen in a period of wartime activity, it can happen in a depression and during normal economic activity.

We do not know accurately how many seasonal workers are normally needed. The Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor found that little factual data existed in regard to migrant workers in industry and has asked certain Federal agencies to help obtain such data. The Department of Agriculture estimates that there were approximately one million agricultural migrants during 1946. This included single workers who migrated for farm labor; household heads and members of their families who migrated and worked; and members of their families who migrated but did not work.

The number of migrant workers varies, depending upon economic and employment conditions in the country as a whole and upon technological and other conditions in industry and agriculture. The supply of agricultural workers is also affected by the high rate of natural

increase of population in many rural areas without a corresponding increase in employment opportunities. We must recognize the need for extension to this group of various services normally provided for residents.

Many workers who habitually migrate from state to state do so, not from choice, but because the nature of their work demands it. Unorganized to a large extent and frequently entrusting to labor contractors their negotiations with individual employers, the migrants have little chance to become articulate or to bargain for themselves in the area of wages, employment, and living conditions. Moreover, they frequently live in isolated sections and have little or no chance to participate in normal community life or to receive those services that communities provide for their residents. They ask no special privileges, but they are denied the opportunities and protections that other workers have.

The Twelfth National Conference on Labor Legislation decided, in December, 1945, to do something about the traditionally poor conditions under which migrants have worked. A Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor was organized, composed of Federal agencies having responsibilities toward migrants and under the sponsorship of the Retraining and Re-employment Administration of the Department of Labor. Its function was to review existing legal authority and agency machinery in order to determine how living and labor standards can be improved for migrants and to submit appropriate recommendations.

The report of this committee includes recommendations for Federal, state, and local action. These recommendations, if carried into effect, will require changes in Federal and state laws and the coöperative and coördinated action of Federal, state, and local governments. Since legislative action and community action arise from public understanding and planning, it is our responsibility to create understanding and to help in developing constructive plans.

While we strive for conditions that will better serve our migratory, seasonal workers, we can also recognize that an important part of the answer lies in decreasing the necessity for people to move about continually in order to earn a living. Diversification of production in individual industries and on an area-wide basis will minimize the demands for peak labor. The use of machines can lessen the need for

hand labor, and the maximum use of local workers will lessen the demand for migrants.

The development of permanent residences for seasonal laborers in the form of "labor allotments," "subsistence homesteads," or "garden homes" would also help decrease the need for migratory labor if the projects are geographically so located that the workers can provide a maximum amount of seasonal labor in areas adjacent to their residences.

Such a reduction will not be easy and will be accomplished only to the extent that adjustments are made through better planning production programs. It will not be accomplished by importing foreign labor or by reducing further the level of living of migrant workers. Moreover, such adjustments will not come until the communities and employers assume greater responsibility for planning production patterns.

Data are not available on the amount of employment and the total earnings of migrants who earn all or part of their income by seasonal employment. As previously indicated, it was estimated in 1946 that there were about one million agricultural migrants. In 1945 more than one-half million were employed as farm workers on three or more farms, and about three fourths of this number worked less than seventy-five days during the year. Other studies have shown that in one state the average length of employment for agricultural workers was less than six months and that 37 percent of the family heads had less than four months of employment.

Migrant workers are short-time workers, and while they may receive higher cash wages per day than those who have more permanent jobs in the same areas of employment, they do not receive higher wages than others employed in the same short-time jobs. Furthermore, their earnings are directly affected by crop and weather conditions. In general, they do not have sufficient employment to furnish adequate annual incomes, and part of their earnings are used up in transportation.

Two groups that can do much to help solve these problems are the employers and the workers themselves. The experience gained during the war years can be utilized. Part of the success of that experience was due to the clear understanding and guarantee of employment conditions.

Recruitment of seasonal workers is difficult at best. The relatively low wages, the unattractive employment and living conditions, and the necessity of traveling from job to job make recruitment difficult, and it is further complicated by haphazard and unsolicited migration. Many move about without adequate information as to when and where they should go. Others are recruited by poorly regulated labor contractors who may be more interested in their own profit than in the needs of employers or the welfare of the worker. Employers, in order to make sure that they will have sufficient labor, advertise extensively and thus bring in more workers than they can possibly use.

Local labor can usually supply part of the seasonal help. Those responsible for recruitment should attempt to avoid undesirable competition between local and migrant labor by recruiting the maximum of local labor before bringing in migrants. Supplying workers for seasonal needs and arranging employment for workers are the two essential elements in a program of recruitment.

The dissemination of information about the size and time of migratory movements and about current employment can be effective only by expansion of general information regarding areas of labor need to counties, industries, and groups of workers; better coordination of information involving several states; more rapid transmission of current data to and from recruiting offices; more frequent contacts with employers about labor requirements; and fuller use of available means of communication. This service must be rendered both in advance of seasonal needs and during the season when workers are in transit.

The employer needs information as to the number of workers available, their age, sex, and competence. He should know what housing, educational, health, and other services the workers need and expect. He should also know the areas of employment from which they will come since his requirements are closely related to the requirements of other employers planning to utilize the same workers.

The information desired by workers is even more diverse. They need to know the location of jobs; the type of work to be done and the type of worker desired; the dates of employment; and the wage rates. They need to know about the availability and cost of food and housing and about educational, religious, recreational, health, and medical services available to them and their families. They should know the means and cost of transportation.

It is desirable that recruitment, employment, and information stations be located in all local labor markets and at key points along the customary routes of travel. Such services should be a part of permanent public employment offices. This can be done by extending and improving present services. Some of these offices could function on a seasonal basis. In order to secure adequate services, it will be necessary to have local and state services integrated on a wider than state basis. Only then can employment services meet the needs of workers who move from state to state or of employers who count upon labor from other areas.

The use of these public facilities should be free to the employer and to the worker. Both migrants and employers will need to be convinced of the benefits to be gained by using public employment agencies. Charges for such services are inappropriate and can only serve to set up barriers for the migrant that do not exist in regard to the use of public services by local workers.

One cannot discuss migrant workers without considering transportation. Migrant workers travel long distances between jobs, often in old vehicles that are not equipped with safety devices and that offer little or no protection from the sun or rain. It is known that injuries and fatalities have occurred in truck accidents with no opportunity for redress because of the lack of financial responsibility of the private transportation agency.²

In a survey made by the Interstate Commerce Commission it was determined that most of the vehicles used in the transportation of migrants were not equipped to meet the safety requirements of the Commission. Safety regulations for common carriers are disregarded by employers and crew leaders, and drivers frequently drive continuously for periods far in excess of the limitations imposed upon common carriers. The study indicated that 40 percent of the carriers were people engaged solely in transporting workers on a fee basis; 34 percent were employers who furnished transportation for their employees; and 22 percent were employees who drove their own vehicles and carried fellow workers on a share-expense basis. Regulation of this class of transportation is most difficult because carriers, employers, and workers connive to make it impossible to prove that payment for transportation is made to the carrier. Many contend that

² Report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, John H. Tolan, chairman.

the transportation is incidental to their business and therefore comes under the classification of "private carrier."

The Interstate Commerce Act empowers the Commission to establish reasonable requirements and standards of equipment for private carriers of property. No such responsibility is granted in regard to private carriers of passengers. The Interagency Committee, therefore, has recommended that the Interstate Commerce Act be amended to include private carriers of passengers. In so doing, care would need to be exercised to the end that operators of private passenger cars and others whom Congress never intended to subject to Federal regulation would be excluded. States also should provide for the regulation of intrastate transportation of migrant workers.

Surveys made by the United States Public Health Service show that migrants suffer from disabling illnesses at a far higher rate than do members of a stable population, while, according to a report made to the President in 1940,³ they receive less medical care than the rest of the community. Malnutrition is more frequent among the children of migrant workers than among other children.

Too often the conditions under which migrants live endanger their health. They must accept whatever housing accommodations are available. Located in unsanitary and poor surroundings, tents, old cabins, makeshift shelters, and deserted buildings are the "homes" of many workers. Quarters are congested, and the same cramped space too often serves as living room, dining room, kitchen, and bedroom. Heat and adequate ventilation are frequently lacking, as is adequate provision for garbage and sewage disposal and bathing and laundry facilities. The regular sanitation and health services are seldom available to migrants. The health hazards to which they are exposed menace everyone with whom they come in contact in their travels, yet it is only when epidemics threaten the larger community that the usual health services are provided.

Farm laborer homes or labor allotments such as those found in some European countries would be a good solution for the housing problem of many who live in "squatter camps," tents, trailers, and abandoned buildings on the edge of town. Permanent labor camps with acceptable provisions for health and sanitation offer another solution in communities where large numbers of migrants are em-

³ A Report to the President by the United States Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, July, 1940.

ployed year after year. The Committee therefore recommended that communities take responsibility for the elimination of "shack towns" and for the planning of safe and sanitary housing. As a means of insuring minimum standards, it recommended that the state departments of labor, in coöperation with the health authorities, be given responsibility by law for the issuance and enforcement of standards for labor camps. It also recommended that state departments of labor be given responsibility for licensing and regulating the camps.

Better housing and sanitation will remove health hazards, but they will not provide health services. The Committee therefore recommended that public health authorities, Federal and state, be given administrative and financial responsibility for a broad health program. Adequate health services would include programs for control of communicable diseases, maternal and child health, medical and hospital care, and dental services. In some areas existing programs can be strengthened and extended; in other areas they must be built up. Extension of these services will demand a removal of the usual residence requirement.

The children of migrants do not have normal home and community life and are universally handicapped by the lack of educational opportunity. Most neglected are the young children who often must shift for themselves while their parents and older brothers and sisters work. Many children work along with their parents, and any income that they can earn is badly needed by the family. The conditions under which they work are similar to those that resulted in legislation forbidding or regulating the employment of children in every industry except agriculture.

Two Federal laws now have provisions relating to the employment of children in agriculture. The Sugar Act of 1937 makes producers of sugar beets and sugar cane eligible for full Federal subsidy only if they do not employ children under fourteen in production, cultivation, and harvesting, or children fourteen and fifteen years of age more than eight hours a day in such work. These provisions apply to children whose parents own 40 percent or more of the crop.

In the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, agriculture is exempt from the wage and hour provisions, but a basic minimum age of sixteen is included for employment in establishments producing goods for shipment in interstate or foreign commerce and applies to agricultural employment on the days and hours when the child is legally

required to attend school. Because school attendance is regulated by state law, the coverage varies from state to state. The enforcement of this minimum age standard is also limited by the weakness of school attendance laws that may permit the closing of schools for crop vacations and the release from school of individual children for agricultural employment. There is no minimum age under this act for employment of children in agriculture during periods when they are not legally required to attend school. The Committee, therefore, has recommended that the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act be amended to cover children employed in industrialized agriculture and that coverage under the state child labor laws be extended to all occupations, including agriculture.

In regard to providing adequate education, the Committee recommended that state laws require school attendance for children until the age of sixteen and prohibit release of children from school for any kind of employment. State laws or regulations should also provide for admittance of all children of school age within a state or school district, whether permanently or temporarily, to public schools without payment of tuition. In a few states the laws governing school attendance are not limited to resident children. California, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and the District of Columbia specifically recognize the educational needs of children in migrant and transient families.

It is recognized that under the best arrangements it is difficult to guarantee equal educational opportunities to migrant children. Nevertheless, it is a public service that should be available to them, and schools have a responsibility for planning their services to meet the special needs of all children. Fulfillment of this responsibility will be costly. In order to insure adequate education of migrant children, the Committee recommended that Federal funds be authorized to help states finance these costs. It also suggested that studies financed by Federal funds be made to determine the extent to which local systems cannot provide for the education of migrant children, and that Federal funds provide for experimental work with mobile schools.

Much greater responsibility may have to be placed on state and local departments of education. State departments should be authorized and encouraged to develop methods and materials, to coordinate and facilitate planning among two or more school districts, and to provide special staff that would be responsible for the program and visit-

ing teachers especially trained to cope with the problems of migrant children.

Special state financial aid should be made available on the basis of school attendance rather than on the basis of school census figures. This would then provide an incentive for admitting children temporarily. State aid, in part, would substitute for the loss of revenue from tuition and would help to provide the special facilities needed, such as extra staff, special services, additional transportation.

Another phase of the program would be the development of a state-wide system of permanent and accumulative records for every child; an orderly and uniform system of enrollment, dismissal, re-enrollment, and work; and similar nonattendance permits. Copies of the child's school record should routinely go to each of the school districts to which the child migrates. In instances where the same stream of migrants is employed during different periods of the year, coöperative arrangements could be worked out with the neighboring states.

As a practical means of caring for younger children, child care centers have already demonstrated their value. Financed from public funds, they should be a part of any program for migrants. The community, employers, and workers should jointly participate in establishing such centers, not only for the younger children, but also for older children who, after school hours, lack supervision while their parents work. Adequate educational and child care services and opportunities for play are as important in safeguarding the rights of children as protection against child labor.

Migrant workers in agriculture have little chance to be protected, so far as economic security is concerned, by two insurance programs under the Social Security Act. Although the occupational accident and death rates in agriculture are probably the highest for any major industry, few states cover agricultural workers under workmen's compensation laws. Furthermore, because of restrictive residence or settlement requirements, community attitudes, or lack of funds, services, including financial assistance, are not uniformly available to migrants. Consequently, they are in urgent need of protection against the hazards of unemployment, injury, illness, death of the wage earner, and financial insecurity.

Extension of the old age and survivors insurance program to all agricultural workers would mean provision for a monthly income for

migrant agricultural workers and their families when the worker retires at sixty-five and for his family when he dies. Changes in laws can also be made to assure migrant workers of some income when they are temporarily out of work through no fault of their own.

Migrant workers are barred from public assistance by the imposition of residence requirements. Under the Social Security Act, Federal funds are available to states to help meet the needs of nonresidents as well as residents for the three special types of assistance, old age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children. However, most states have residence requirements that must be met before eligibility can be established.

A prerequisite for eligibility for general assistance, administered by states and localities without Federal participation, is frequently legal settlement. Settlement usually refers to a locality rather than a state and frequently may be gained only by residing in the community for a specified period of time without public assistance or by being self-supporting during that period. The effects of settlement laws vary widely, but, in general, they serve to bar needy people from receiving necessary financial assistance.

The elimination of residence and settlement requirements as well as of other restrictive requirements is essential if all people who for one reason or another cannot support themselves and have no resources are to be eligible for help from public funds. Only then will we cease to have a group of "stateless citizens." We may think that every person has a residence somewhere. Actually, when many people leave their home community to secure work, they lose settlement and do not gain it elsewhere, thereby becoming, so far as financial aid is concerned, "stateless citizens."

The migrant worker and his family should be eligible, not only for financial assistance from public funds, but also for welfare, recreational, and other community services both public and private. The social problems of migrant families are the same as those found in any community. Their problems may, however, because of the conditions under which they live, be accentuated.

Migrant workers contribute to the wealth and resources of the community and the nation. They do not seek nor do they require special privileges or treatment. The community has an obligation to extend to the migrant worker and to his family opportunities to participate in its life. As citizens, they are entitled to the protection af-

fording all industrial groups through Federal and state laws and should be afforded the same rights and opportunities essential to the welfare of people in the nation as a whole. No longer should we deprive Americans of normal and human rights.

PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE AMERICAN INDIAN

By Sara H. James

THE SUBJECT OF PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY for the Indian could, and should perhaps, be covered in one sentence: Any public welfare service should be as available to an Indian as it is to any other individual in the community.

As a group, the Indians comprise about two tenths of one percent of our population. Probably the history of our governmental relationship to the Indians has made us aware of the Indians as a group or a race, but rarely as individuals with the same problems and the same needs as the rest of us. The essential basis of democracy, namely, respect for the dignity of the individual with recognition of his rights for self-direction, does not seem to operate when we talk about the Indians. We have set them apart and substituted a philosophy of guardianship and protection, involving extraordinary control over their lives and property.

Perhaps if we look briefly at the history of the government's relationship to the Indians, we might have a better understanding of our present problem. Up to the time of the founding of the National Government, we had a period of "community diplomacy." During the early colonial period the colonists and the Indians worked out plans within their own community for getting along together. This was perhaps one of the best periods so far as the relationship between the two races was concerned. However, as new colonists arrived, the growing American nation needed more land in the East. For approximately the next one hundred years we had a period of treaties between the Federal Government and the Indian tribes under which many tribes were forced to give up their land in the East and to move to the Western part of the country. In return, these treaties usually made certain provisions for the Indians. Although some 370 treaties are still on the statute books, many of the promises to the Indians have never been satisfied. Various studies of the Indians' problems and governmental responsibility point to the need for settlement of these

claims or treaties. The passage, in 1946, of Public Law 726 to create an Indians Claims Commission should meet this need.

Since March 3, 1871, no further treaties have been made with Indian tribes, on the basis that the Federal Government could no longer recognize an independent nation or sovereignty existing within its borders. From 1871 to the present we have had control by special legislation for the Indians, or, in other words, legislation directed toward one race. In all, more than four thousand laws enacted by Congress to regulate Indian affairs have piled, one on the other, during the passing years.

Between 1871 and 1887 governmental policy turned to segregation of the Indians on reservations, and by the latter year most of the tribes had been separated from their extensive lands and confined to restricted reservations. In order to provide the Indians with some means of subsistence during the adjustment period, the government set up a plan of food rationing; however, with the difficulties inherent in a different mode of life and with poor land, the adjustment of the Indian to this situation was practically impossible. Under the reservation system the Indian lost the right to govern his own affairs, the right to his economic independence, and the right to his self-reliance.

A major legislative change was made in 1887, when the General Allotment Act was passed. This act provided that, eventually, every Indian would be given a share of land to be held in trust for twenty-five years, during which time the land should not be taxed or sold. Unused land was opened for homesteads for non-Indians. Apparently, it was hoped that during this time the Indian, as an individual, would thus become a part of the community in which he was living and that there would ultimately be an end of reservation life. Although the purpose of this act was probably good, it did not work out satisfactorily, for increasingly, the Indians lost their land. During this period the Indians lost title to 91,000,000 acres. They were left with approximately 49,000,000 acres, or about one third of their original holdings. Much of what was left to them was desert or semidesert land.

Because of the general dissatisfaction and concern regarding the status of the Indian, the Reorganization Act, known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, was passed in 1934. This act changed the direction of Indian policy. It abandoned the allotment system and all efforts to destroy tribal organization and culture. The acceptance of this act was optional with the tribes. In an attempt to give the Indians greater

control over their own affairs, the act restored to tribal ownership and management all unallotted and unsold reservation lands and authorized purchase of additional lands where necessary and practicable. Moreover, it authorized self-government under a special tribal constitution, subject to Federal supervision. Under the Reorganization Act, which is still in effect, the Office of Indian Affairs has attempted to rebuild the Indian estate. This objective has been stated as follows:

It [the rebuilding of the Indian estate] is based on the fact that the Indians are on the land, have a great deal of land, and have almost no other economic resources. Indian mastery of the productive use of that land is the first and the most feasible step toward building an economy that will lift the Indians out of their poverty and give the base on which they can renew their courage, build their talents, and enrich their common life. . . . The ultimate aim of Indian land policy is to help the Indians to use their own resources fully through their own labor and to use these resources in a way that will keep them perpetually productive.¹

The economic condition of the Indian is aggravated by the limited amount of suitable and available land. In addition, the many restrictions on Indian land, due to unsettled treaties and innumerable laws, make the progress of the Indian toward independence slow and tedious.

With this background in mind, particularly the place of land in the Indian economy and in governmental policy, let us look at other areas of governmental responsibility, particularly health, welfare, and education. Have we come to the place where government can function for the Indians as it does for the non-Indians in the areas where services to the individual are concerned? This subject was discussed in a series of papers presented at the National Conference of Social Work at Minneapolis in 1931. The direction of those papers seems as pertinent today as then.

Lewis Meriam, of Brookings Institution, said in his paper:

The question we face today is whether the time has not come in these United States when we must forget all about the legalistic arguments resulting from our past mistakes in mixing real property control with human social development; when we must recognize that our Indians are citizens alike of the federal government and of the states and counties in which they live; that both the federal government and the states have a common

¹ Ward Shepard, in *The Changing Indian*, ed. Oliver La Farge (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), p. 80.

interest in having the Indians merged into our economic and social life; that these Indians are in a transitional period and that for a transitional period they need a transitional form of government so that gradually they can pass from the paternalistic federal control to the freer state control without serious injury to themselves and with safety to the community.

The ward Indians will be held back if we continue to provide for their social and educational advancement through special segregated institutions and service agencies maintained exclusively for them. They need training and experience in getting government service from the same agencies that serve their white fellow citizens. The federal government must recognize that it has not so conducted its work that it can fairly ask the states to take the Indians over as they are and assume the entire costs, for the Indians cannot at present carry the average or normal tax burden and they will for years to come require more educational and social service than the state and county normally provide for its white citizens. The federal government and the states must coöperate and the federal government must contribute a just proportion of the costs.²

We find the same idea expressed in 1944 in the report of a Select Committee of Congress:

Finally, your committee recommends that careful consideration should also be given the possibility of gradually shifting from federal to state administration such features of the Indian Service as education, health, extension service, and law enforcement. Where this is done the federal government should appropriate the money required to fulfill its obligations to the Indians, but the administration of these services should be left to the states in which the Indians live, with real economy to the federal government and with appreciable improvements in the results. In Minnesota for example, the education of the Indian children is now largely handled on this basis with highly satisfactory and encouraging results.³

In the minority report of the same committee, we find the following recommendation that the Indian be removed even further from Federal control:

. . . most of the states and in fact all of them which have large Indian populations are too prone and too anxious to pass the buck to the federal government. . . . In the final end, the federal government should not be required or expected to pay the expenses or upkeep of the Indians for their food, clothing, or hospitalization, and education, except as the federal government pays for such things in other cases and for white and

² Lewis Meriam, "State and Local Coöperation with the National Government in Social and Educational Work for Indians. I: Statement of the Problem," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 612.

³ Report of the Select Committee to Investigate Indian Affairs and Conditions. 78th Congress, 2d session, House Report No. 2091, December, 1944.

other people. The Indians can never be assimilated into the body politic of the white men, while the Indians are manikins and while the states expect them to remain such. The local authorities have a responsibility in this regard which should not be placed on the federal government. States and local authorities have many duties which are commonly exercised by them on behalf of white people, and we should look forward to the time when the same kind of supervision would be given by local people to Indians. This cannot be done at once, but it is an objective toward which we should strive.

I quote these two sources in detail because they represent conclusions based on careful study. Mr. Meriam was at that time technical director of a survey made by the Institute of Government Research on the problem of Indian administration. The Congressional committee was a select committee which made extensive field trips to study and investigate conditions and to take the testimony of numerous Indians and non-Indians.

What progress have we made toward the objective expressed by Mr. Meriam in 1931? For one thing, there has been the passage of the Social Security Act, in 1935, which opened the resources of various Federal grants-in-aid programs to the Indians, as to other eligible individuals. Under the Federal Security Agency there are now fourteen grants-in-aid programs in education, health, and welfare; these programs provide for a sharing of costs between the states and the Federal Government. While these programs are not inclusive enough to provide full coverage in these fields, this resource for coöperative effort has been used extensively by many state agencies, and has provided one means by which the individual Indian participates in a governmental activity on the same basis as the non-Indian. Unfortunately, this is not true in all states for all programs. In this connection, let us be clear as to the present Federal responsibility for Indians as it operates through the Office of Indian Affairs. The so-called "wardship" centers around land tenure and does not involve support by the government. For instance, rationing was discontinued in 1943, and since that time any assistance provided to Indians has been given on the basis of need. The Interior Department Appropriation bill for 1947 included only \$342,000 to cover welfare services for relief of needy Indians. This inadequate fund provides only for emergency relief to persons not eligible under the grants-in-aid programs.

Another step has been taken, in several states, in the field of education. The plan in one state is described in a recent article entitled

"Whither the California Indians" by Charles de Y. Elkus, a San Francisco attorney long interested in Indian affairs. Mr. Elkus states:

Indian education has been placed in our public schools through a contract between the Federal Government and the State of California under which the Federal Government pays the bill. This has been a successful experiment and should be followed by taking a similar course as to health, welfare, and all those other activities that now characterize the Indian service. The State of California is well equipped to take over and do a better job. Not only will the job be well done, but it will break down unnecessary barriers between our Indian citizens and the rest of the community in which he lives—barriers which should not exist.⁴

After further discussion of law and order, wardship, etc., Mr. Elkus continues:

Without belaboring each point, the Federal Government, through the Indian Office, might work out an arrangement with the State of California [and we presume he would include other states] by which, for an agreed amount to be paid by the Federal Government in release of its future obligations in certain fields, such as health, education and welfare, the State government would take over the obligations and agree to fulfill them on the same standards as are extended to the citizenry at large.⁵

You will note that Mr. Elkus goes farther in his plan for coöperative effort between the state and the Federal Government by suggesting a method of payment by which the Federal Government would discharge its obligations in the fields of health, education, and welfare.

We will probably all agree that the Indian must gradually pass from paternalistic Federal control to independent citizenship; the how and the when of that transition are more difficult to answer. The final answer will, of course, come through Congressional action, but in the meantime, social workers can do much to make that indefinite future time come sooner. We can help the Indian to emerge as a free individual able to stand alone and strong enough not to depend on the Federal Government. Perhaps we can make some headway if we concentrate on two objectives: (1) to make the fullest use of services available under the Federal grants-in-aid programs; and (2) for such other services not available through grants-in-aid, that we follow Mr. Elkus's suggestion that for an agreed-upon amount to be paid by

⁴ Charles de Y. Elkus, "Whither the California Indians," *American Indian*, III, No. 4 (Fall, 1946), 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

the Federal Government in release of its future obligations in certain fields, the state governments take over the responsibility of providing necessary health, welfare, and educational services.

These objectives, however, cannot be reached through legislation or by administrative action until there are understanding and acceptance of their need and strong support on the part of many people. At the present time, most persons have little more than a passing interest in the Indians. Before we can make real headway we must have a conviction that every American Indian shall be entitled to the rights and privileges as well as the obligations of citizenship and that he shall have the right of self-direction. This can be achieved only when he can participate freely in governmental services available in his state or local community. Public welfare workers and social workers have an obligation and a concern to make real the availability of public social services for this minority group on the same basis as they are available to other individuals.

I would like to mention just a few ways in which our concern can be carried into action:

1. We can exchange indifference for an interest in, and a knowledge of, Indian conditions. This will involve a study of conditions in our own states, including the availability of services. Such a study should encourage action to achieve our objectives.

2. We can respect the Indian as an individual as we come in contact with him in the agencies in which we are employed. In the community, we can attempt to remove the limitations that are imposed on the Indian by race prejudice.

3. We can study the culture and history of the tribes in our own state or community, so that we may be more appreciative of the strength of this group in our nation.

4. We can see to it that the public welfare agencies which serve the Indians do not shirk their special responsibilities:

We can make our services available to the Indian. For example, one state agency has listed in its county manual the Indian tribes in the state and the Office of Indian Affairs resources that are available to Indians. The manual gives guidance in ways of securing data on eligibility and states clearly: "Indians, both ward and non-ward, are given the same consideration as other persons for federal aid and direct assistance."

We can make known to the Indian his rights in the welfare pro-

gram. For example, one county director has spoken before the tribal councils explaining public assistance, determination of need, and method of deducting per capita payment.

We can visit the Indian applicant as we do other applicants. For example, the same county director, after an application has been received, makes it a point to visit the Indian in his home. To find the Indian he may travel far afield to the mountain canyons, but such a visit establishes a personal relationship between the agency and the applicant.

In our contacts with the Indian we can help him to accept, in so far as possible, responsibility for his own affairs. We must recognize that with the long history of a very different relationship between the Indians and government, he will need considerable help to believe that acceptance of an assistance grant does not deny him the right of self-determination.

We can recognize the individual differences and needs of the Indian as we do those of the non-Indian.

We can recognize social delinquencies, not as racial weakness, but as symptoms of conflict growing out of the same kind of difficulty that causes conflicts in any human being.

We can help the Indian to participate in community activities. In one county with a large Indian population, the local workers helped to arrange for an advisory committee of Indians and non-Indians to serve the community in establishing a program for young people. The group interested themselves in such activities as providing an immunization program, securing recreation facilities, and establishing a library and a nursery.

We can provide as skilled and understanding a service as possible.

I would add a word about the nonreservation Indian who has come to our cities and towns to work out his economic future. He, too, needs help in learning the use of community resources. He may need assistance in solving his problems of adjustment as much as does the newcomer to our land. If we understand the economic situation on the reservation we will not press him to return there at the first sign of difficulty.

The Indian also needs to understand and to trust the good intentions of the rest of the community, just as much as we need to understand the Indian. If we are sincerely able to respect the Indian as an individual, by granting him all the rights of citizenship and by

making all community resources equally available to him as to other persons in the community, it might help him to resolve his conflict between wanting to be treated like other people, and yet wanting to hold on to the security of governmental control.

And now I end as I started, by saying that public responsibility for welfare services for the Indians remains where it does for the rest of us. Any public welfare service should be as available to an Indian as it is to any other individual, for Indians are people too.

PUBLIC WELFARE IN A RAPIDLY GROWING COMMUNITY

By Wayne Vasey

MASSES OF NEWCOMERS have always found difficulties in meeting the conditions of living in the communities to which they have chosen to migrate. In the case of the pioneers, the problems arose out of the rigors of life in undeveloped areas. There were homes to build, lands to clear, inhospitable wildernesses to overcome. They found no schools, churches, or hospitals awaiting them, and had to create and to develop these services. When misfortune befell them, they relied on neighbors.

In Contra Costa County, California, as in other coast sections, a migration occurred that in terms of numbers of people and speed of population increase excelled the pioneer movements. People swarmed to the shipyards and to work in other war-stimulated industries in the locality. In that county, a rural-suburban community of 100,450 people, according to the 1940 census, the population trebled in six years. The Contra Costa County auditor, in a report to the County Board of Supervisors, noted that the 1946 count, 300,000 persons, represented the population figure that would normally have been attained by the year 2007, in terms of the prewar rate of increase.

These figures are startling. But the problem cannot be expressed in mere numbers. The situation confronting all community services must also be considered in terms of the personal problems of the newcomers and their impact upon established community life. These newcomers did not find a wilderness to conquer. Instead, the basic problem was that of stretching established services, such as schools, health agencies, hospitals, and welfare activities, to meet the needs of a population three times the size of the prewar population.

The newcomers brought special problems to the community. They lacked the established ties that would enable them to get help from families and friends. Many of them, lured by the "easy money" of the shipyards, discovered a hitherto unknown way of life. They found shelter in trailers, in temporary government housing, and lived in a

manner that stressed the impermanence of their situations. Their jobs were for the "duration." What would happen after that was anybody's guess. The war's end meant the loss of jobs for many. They found themselves without jobs and without savings. This plight of the war worker has been the signal for much moralizing on the subject of improvidence, but moralizing has not solved any of the difficulties. These newcomers are still here, and others continue to arrive. The population of the county has increased by another 50,000 since V-J Day, and nobody prophesies a letup in migration. The welfare department faces the prospect of continuing to adjust to an increasing population for many years to come.

The old-timers have their problems, too. They find the streets crammed, the stores overflowing, the schools crowded beyond the point of efficiency, the law-enforcement agencies sore beset, and, in general, a hustle and scurrying about uncomfortably different from the prewar tempo. It is too easy to condemn these people as narrow and shortsighted, as they express resentment against what has happened and prove reluctant to accept responsibility for increased services and taxes. It requires time, and considerable pain of adjustment, before the old and the new are fused into a community pattern. The older inhabitants are naturally in the strategic position for exercising leadership, and it is a tribute to their ability to accept change that they are facing the fact that growth requires the assumption of certain obligations.

Meanwhile, what of the public welfare department in this rapidly growing community? When the war began, a staff of nineteen persons served a small case load. During the war, agency personnel noted a decline in the number of persons receiving assistance. It was true that services expanded somewhat, notably in the fields of foster home licensing and crippled children's services, but in general there was no feeling that the agency should prepare for a greater responsibility. No one was sure that the newcomers would remain, and that the county would not slip gracefully back into the relatively easy-going ways of another day. Perhaps it is the unpredictable behavior of human beings, individually and collectively, that prevents our foreseeing the need for preparation. Today the department has a staff of forty persons. The difficulty lies, however, in the fact that the increase in staff is somewhat less spectacular than the growth of the load. Current prospects indicate that the staff will continue to grow

somewhat less rapidly than the work load, and much less rapidly than community needs will require.

Now, instead of a few people a day coming into the office to inquire about the old age pension or to report a hardship case, waiting rooms are crowded. Schedules are difficult to maintain, and there is a fret and fever about the work. The applicants, both in number and in problems, are uncomfortably suggestive of depression days.

What is the job of the public welfare department in this situation? There is allurements as well as unpleasantness in this need for services. There is a certain exhilaration, as well as the fret and the fever. At this point, we might even bring in the hackneyed term "challenge."

Superficial observation might lead to the conclusion that this is a community organizer's dream. Naturally, social agencies have not grown at the same rate as the community. Surely, with this relatively untouched field of need for social work services, a perfect pattern could be established. There would be few vested agency interests, and no established, mistaken allocations of responsibilities to overcome. The public agency could exercise leadership in establishing casework services, and in dividing areas of work with other agencies in accordance with ability and need rather than tradition.

Unfortunately for this dream, the public welfare staff finds itself preoccupied with the problem of the growing demand for existing services—public assistance; services to children in their own homes under the child welfare program; foster home inspection, selection, and placement; determination of financial eligibility for care under the crippled children's program. There is sufficient need for expanding the concept of service in the public assistance programs alone, to engage the full attention of the staff. People applying for assistance include the unskilled workman and the partially handicapped who find their services no longer in demand, the deserted mother, the injured or ill breadwinner, the old person who finds it difficult to accept the fact that he is in the economic discard, to mention a few. The potential need and demand for skilled casework services in child welfare alone are so great that the workers feel almost like talking in a whisper about their work, rather than to invite a rush of demand that cannot be met.

In the field of medical care, the determination of financial eligibility may have brought to light a tremendous need for medical social work. Adjustment to illness is not easy. Interpretation of family re-

sponsibilities may be needed in many instances. Yet here is a relatively untouched area of service to people who have already come to the attention of the agency. Large case loads grow steadily larger as demands for service outrace the supply of workers and intensify the problem of inadequacy.

Welfare administrators constantly face demands for expansion before they have perfected their already existing organization. The administrative staff, if at all sensitive to community development, must be uncomfortably aware of these untouched areas of service. Nevertheless, the zealous administrator should realize that a service poorly done is in reality a disservice, both to the agency and to the community. He should also remember that once the agency has accepted a responsibility, it is stuck with it. A worker may say to an applicant for a service not within the agency's scope: "Sorry, but that's out of our line." It is difficult, if not impossible, to say: "Yes, that's part of our job, but we're too busy to help you."

The essence of building to meet community needs is planning, planning in relation to the program concept, planning under difficulties. Staff members will find themselves improvising, spinning around in a wheel of activity without direction, unless determined efforts are made to give some continuity and purpose. It follows that the greater the need for planning, the less time there is to make the plans. Intake is increasing to a point that threatens complete breakdown of all procedures, yet more careful intake is needed. Case loads increase faster than workers can be secured, yet more time is required to do an adequate job. The agency administrator does not dare attempt to solve all his difficulties by adding to his staff. Every activity must be synchronized. There is no use in hiring an additional worker if there is no desk. There is no purpose in adding to the intake staff unless there is a staff to give the necessary continuing services. There is little object in alerting the staff to the individual problems among clients unless facilities exist to meet those needs.

In such a situation harried staff members may put pressure upon administrative or supervisory personnel. There may be a chain reaction of intra-agency explosions unless the person who is responsible for over-all policy helps maintain a perspective of the agency's responsibility, and gives his staff a share in management. Such staff attitudes are particularly likely to develop if planning is done exclusively at the executive level. For example, there may be a definite plan for

adding to the office facilities. Workers, clerks, and stenographers, if they are not aware of this plan and have had no share in making it, will not accept discomforts and delay very willingly. They may think that there is some relationship between their complaints and the improvement of conditions, and forthwith decide that pressure on the "boss" is the answer to their problems. This results in the perfect setup for developing bigger and better frustrations.

One of the delights of rural public welfare, according to the books, is the opportunity it affords the social worker to become a walking community organization. We do know that resourcefulness is required in those areas which do not have established formal services. We know that in rural areas the worker must substitute direct action for referral action, and must operate within a wide range of skill. Help is enlisted on a more personal basis, rather than through formally organized agencies.

In discussing Contra Costa County's problems, however, I am describing a rural type of organization which is called upon to meet an urban problem. In this county there are few agencies to which to refer an applicant for service which the public agency is not equipped to render, and the job is too big to permit the public agency to give direct service as rendered in the rural community. Here, then, three alternatives are permitted the public agency staff: (1) to attempt to encompass the entire field, even though in a very imperfect manner; (2) to assume an active role in the community in helping to stimulate the development of facilities other than the public agency; (3) to accept the limitations of service and to leave to others the job of expanding services to meet needs apart from those already within the scope of the agency.

If the public agency announces that it will render all needed case-work services, it may be inviting an obligation which it cannot meet. If new functions are accepted before the agency is ready to perform them, other community services may be stifled. If the job is done imperfectly, just well enough to alleviate the community pressure, permanent damage to community welfare services may be the result. For example, the county is in dire need of medical social work services. If the public welfare administrator, with more aplomb than judgment, should announce that henceforth his agency will provide these services, he would find that he lacks the staff and facilities to do more than a superficial job. However, the community might feel se-

cure in the fact that the agency ostensibly was giving the services, and people would not be in a position to adjudge its effectiveness.

The public agency staff must be careful not to disregard community attitudes in making plans for any extension or intensification of services. More service costs more money, and the existing services have strained the capacity for adjustment of the appropriating officials. There is no worse vice, in the eyes of many responsible people, of which a public official can be guilty than that of building a big program for himself. Perhaps this attitude arises from the fundamental feeling that the less government the better.

Furthermore, these officials represent the older population, for the most part, and in their thinking they may be inclined to compare current expenditures and size of staff with prewar figures. They may see a growth of more than double in the number of agency employees, and they may wonder why. Such an adjustment in thinking cannot be expected to occur overnight. Remember that the public has had relatively little time to adjust to the burgeoning public assistance program, and do not overlook the extent to which that program shattered cherished traditions.

Public understanding of our work is shockingly limited. People know what the sheriff's office does. They are fairly clear as to the activities of the school department. Older and longer established services have a more solid place in community life, chiefly because they are better understood and their services have become accepted as legitimate public services. We cannot make the same claim for public welfare.

I have mentioned the recency of development as a factor in this situation. I have pointed out the difficulty of expanding the scope of a program. We have considered the pressures of existing programs. We have also considered large unmet needs within those programs which offered ample exercise for all the skills an agency can muster. Too well known to need elaboration are the difficulties of securing qualified personnel, and the almost pitiable pay scales still prevailing in public welfare. One other negative factor is the lack of interest in the field of public welfare on the part of graduate students in schools of social work. The tendency of a large number of students to specialize in the psychiatric field, the demand of private agencies for qualified personnel, and, in the rural public welfare field, the remoteness of the localities from urban centers, have been limiting

features. How can we develop programs if we are unable to secure the staff to man them? How can we make public welfare sufficiently attractive, both as to salaries and to working conditions, to appeal to trained personnel? How can we offer sufficient scope for professional practice?

Does this recital of difficulties indicate a permanent limitation of community service? Is the public agency permanently held to those requests for service which are brought to it? Can we seek positively to enter untouched or inadequately covered areas of activity? Can we work with private and other public agencies in related fields in our rapidly growing communities to improve the total community organization for service?

I believe that the public agency has just as definite a responsibility to participate in community organization and to expand its own services into the area of unmet need as it has to administer public assistance. I have stressed the limitations in order to emphasize the importance of careful planning and timing. I have mentioned prevailing public attitudes in order to establish the need for fulfilling the responsibility of keeping the public informed and participating in the growth of this particular field of public service. In keeping pace with the increased need for service, the public welfare staff may accomplish much, I am convinced, if the following conditions are met:

1. *The consequences of community growth and change must be understood and appreciated.*—The public welfare agency staff member needs to appreciate what has happened, is happening, and will happen in the setting in which he is working. He must be able to translate general developments into terms of their effects on individual people. This is particularly important in the case of the administrative official, who is not constantly brought face to face with the personal problems of clients of the agency. Conversely, the worker, who does have this day-by-day relationship to individual situations, needs to understand the community significance of the sum total of these personal problems.

2. *The agency's basic purpose and field of service must be established.*—If we are to work toward a more adequate provision of professional social work skills, we need to appreciate this fact and to build toward greater adequacy in administrative planning for the increased provision of publicly supported social casework. We need to understand the obligations inherent in this purpose. Once we have

accepted the purpose, however, we have eliminated the conflicts which result from uncertainties in our own minds.

3. *Long-range planning, with clearly established intervening goals, must prevail in the agency.*—If we add staff and secure space and equipment only in terms of today's needs, we may find ourselves sadly lacking tomorrow. We will be condemning ourselves permanently to improvisation and to desperate efforts to keep up with the pace of change. In our long-range plans we not only need to encompass anticipated community growth, but also to be aware constantly of expansions in services and in the required facilities to keep pace with such expansion.

4. *Planning, growth, and improvement in existing services must be an agency-wide concern.*—All the staff members should share in management. The experience and specialized knowledge of all are required for adequate development. Staff participation must be an integral part of the agency's daily operations, and administrative machinery must be provided to make it effective. Paradoxically, we have, I fear, made such an issue of staff participation, and have written so many words about it, that we have given it artificial qualities and have made it seem almost a mystic process. In reality, it is the most natural thing in the world, and one of the most important aspects of agency operation.

5. *Jobs in the agency must be made more attractive.*—More adequate salaries and better working conditions must be sought constantly. Romantic appeal is scarcely sufficient inducement to qualified people. Qualifications must be raised as salaries are increased, and working conditions improved. Again, a clear understanding of agency purpose will help the administrative staff to develop personnel standards sufficient to secure persons capable of carrying out that purpose.

6. *Coöperation with other agencies and with interested groups and individuals must be constant.*—Social work is not a competitive field. Beginning with such aspects as referral policies, working relationships may be developed. These relationships will, in time, lead to division of responsibility on the basis of agency capacity and skill. If the spirit of coöperation exists, there need be no dog-in-the-manger attitude on the part of anyone. As the habit of coöperation develops, definite organizations will emerge. They need not be forced. There is no obligation in a community like Contra Costa County to follow slavishly the patterns established over the years in such communities as San

Francisco, Seattle, Louisville, or Polk County, Iowa. We have an opportunity to develop an organization to meet our own needs, although we may borrow liberally from the experience of the older urban areas.

7. *Improvement of existing services and the acceptance of new responsibilities need not be perennially in conflict if we are successful in explaining our purpose and our field of service to the public.*—

I am not so much discouraged by popular vagueness in regard to public welfare as I am encouraged by the degree of understanding we have secured in such a short time. If we know what we are doing and what we need to do, we can explain it. Fundamentally, there is no conflict between our purposes and those of the government. Too often we have been apologetic about growth, presenting it as something undesirable which has happened in spite of us. It is time that we learned to appreciate ourselves as a force contributing to better living in the community. We cannot trust to "good works," however, to accomplish this development. There must be a studied and careful plan of public relations.

What is so peculiar to the "rapidly growing community" in all this? Do not all communities face the problem of growth in this newly accepted responsibility of government? The essential difference is in the rate of development, and in the need to accommodate to sweeping change. The pace of living has accelerated, and the public welfare agency must keep up with this pace. We cannot wait too long for "natural development." There is not time.

WHEN IS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE?

By Kenneth L. M. Pray

THIS SUBJECT TOUCHES ISSUES far broader and deeper than those concerned only with the technical nature and content of community organization. It throws open to question and to serious re-examination some of the most venerable and universal assumptions underlying the whole development of social work. In the accumulated professional lore and literature of the last twenty-five years, all social work, like all of ancient Gaul, has by general consent been divided into three parts—three basic areas or types of practice—social casework, social group work, and community organization. By the same token, practitioners in all three of these basic areas, it appears, are members of a single inclusive profession of social work. This assumes that this whole profession, like every profession, is united by certain common responsibilities—by a common concern for the treatment of certain defined needs and problems; by a common body of special knowledge applicable to these problems; by certain common specific and defined objectives in relation to them; by a common core of basic processes, methods, and skills appropriate to the attainment of these objectives; and by a common philosophy binding all these professional ingredients together into a single consistent whole.

The question really asks, therefore, not merely when, but whether, at all, community organization practice is integrally related to the common content of problem, philosophy, knowledge, objective, and method which characterizes social work practice as a generic whole—whether, in fact, we are really one profession or, perhaps, two or more related professions. The answer to that question clearly depends upon what we mean by generic social work practice, in the first place, and by community organization practice, in the second. Since there is no generally accepted definition of either social work or community organization—despite all the ardent and able efforts, past and present, that have gone into the search for such definitions—I am under the painful necessity of formulating at the beginning the

concepts upon which my own discussion will be based. I am keenly aware that this is a matter of strictly personal choice. But we must start somewhere, and this is where I begin.

What, then, are the essentials of social work practice as a generic whole? What are the kinds of problem with which it deals? What are the specific objectives it seeks? What are its basic methods and skills? What is the philosophy on which it operates?

One of the difficulties we face in defining the area of general social work practice, in terms of the kinds of problem with which it deals, is our use of the broad and general term "social" as the only qualifying adjective to designate our specific area of service. The word "social" has none of the precision of such words as "medical" or "legal," for instance, by which other areas of professional practice are defined. It is obviously not enough to say that social work treats "social" problems. For practically every life problem of every individual in this modern world is, in reality, a "social" problem, in one sense or another, and practically every organized undertaking in the world is a "social" enterprise, in the sense that it involves and affects the social life and relationships of people. It is clear that not all these "social" interests and involvements of human beings can lie within the province of a single profession.

Nor does the addition of the word "welfare" to the word "social" do much to clarify or to bound the area of our professional effort. For, in the ordinary and logical use of language, the term "welfare" in this connection denotes only a general purpose of action, which we as a profession share with many other professions and groups in the community, but which we certainly do not monopolize. For, whenever, in the course of daily living, people feel the need and the impulse to apply some sort of deliberate direction to otherwise intuitive social developments, with the conscious purpose of making them serve more fully or more directly the needs of human beings in their social relationships, "social welfare" enterprises come into being. They may take any form, they may be concerned with any aspect of social experience, they may seek to deal with any one or many of the social problems people face. By this reasonable test, the church, the school, the court, the hospital, the labor union, and even industry itself—when motivated and managed with a view to the fuller satisfaction of human social interests—are "social welfare" enterprises. But they are not in themselves "social work" enterprises.

Social work can and does appear, however, in any of these institutions or in any other part of the social setting—and this is the crux of the definition I propose—whenever, in pursuit of a “social welfare” purpose, effort is applied specifically and directly to facilitating the actual process by which people are enabled and assisted to use these instrumentalities or any of the other social relations open to them, for the more effectual fulfillment of their own social well-being, within the framework of a stable society. The problems, then, with which social work deals are not problems of social structure, as such, nor of individual personality, as such. They are not definable in terms of particular sets of circumstances or of particular forces or qualities, either in the social environment or in people themselves, that may obstruct or frustrate satisfying and fruitful social living. They are the problems which people find in the actual process of adjustment to each other or to any part or aspect of their social environment. That is to say, they are problems of relationships.

The common, specific objectives of social work practice must, of course, be related to these focal problems. Its central objective, then, is to facilitate the actual process of social adjustment of individual people, through the development and constructive use of social relationships within which these human beings can find their own fulfillment and can discharge adequately their social responsibilities. This objective may be sought through helping individuals and groups of individuals to find satisfying and fruitful relations to and within the social realities in which they are at the time involved. On the other hand, it may be sought through facilitating the adaptation and modification of the larger environmental arrangements and relationships upon which satisfying social adjustment of all human beings depends. Commonly, both these avenues to the ultimate objective may be used at one and the same time. In any case, the objective always remains the same—not in any particular product or form of adjustment, but in the process of adjustment itself. The objective is not to make over either the environment or the people involved in it, but rather to introduce and sustain a process of dealing with the problems of social relationship and social adjustment, which will enable and assist those involved in the problems to find solutions satisfying to themselves and acceptable to the society of which they are a part.

The philosophy of social work shines forth in these objectives. It rests upon a profound faith in human beings, in their inherent and

inviolable right to choose and to achieve their own destiny, through social relations of their own making, within the essential framework of a stable and progressive society. It rests upon a deep appreciation of the validity and the value to society as a whole, of these individual differences in human beings. It conceives of social unity and progress as the outcome of the integration, not the suppression or conquest, of these differences. Accordingly, it tests all social arrangements and institutions by their impact upon individual lives, by their capacity to utilize for the common good the unique potentialities of individual human beings, through relationships that enlist their active and productive participation. It is, in short, a genuinely and consistently democratic philosophy.

Social work methods and skills exemplify this philosophy in action. Social work, always and everywhere, is, in the first place, a helping, not a controlling, function. It applies always the methods of coöperation, not of manipulation. It offers a service, to be used by others if they need and want to use it; it does not use others, or treat others, for the attainment of its own ends. Because its objectives are always focused in the creation and maintenance of constructive relationships, its own methods and skills are focused in its own capacity for, and use of, a coöperative and helping relationship. Because its service is focused in facilitating a process of adjustment, rather than in the attainment of a specific product or end, its own methods and skills and disciplines are focused in the management of its own process, in the maintenance of a sensitive awareness of what is happening to everybody in that process and of how the worker's own participation is affecting the feeling and interest of all the rest and their expression in participative action. Because of the democratic philosophy on which the whole operation rests—because of the worker's awareness that responsibility for the outcome rests with others, not with himself—his method and skill are consistently addressed to freeing and enlisting the honest, voluntary, responsible contribution of feeling, understanding, experience, and purpose of each and every person involved in the relationship, and the honest, objective, appreciative use of these contributions in a process of integration. Always mindful of the decisive responsibility of others for ultimate choice and decision, the social worker, nevertheless, contributes his own professional difference—in the clarification of alternatives and their potential consequences, in the analysis of the factors that enter into the choice,

and in the evaluation of those elements, in relation to the ultimate objective, in terms of available resources, and in the light of a broader specialized experience in dealing with similar problems.

The core of these processes, methods, and skills of generic social work practice is obviously in the disciplined use of one's self in direct relations with people, both individually and in groups. All else is secondary and incidental and assumes significance only as it eventuates in the more effectual performance of the worker in that direct relationship.

There is, however, one unique and decisive factor in the setting within which the social worker operates, which profoundly affects his use of himself in the helping relationship. That is the fact that he is the representative of a social agency, which determines, by its own choice of purpose and service and policy, the limits within which the worker serves. The agency, in relation to our present subject, has two vital effects upon method and process. In the first place, it introduces into the development of individual and group relationships and purposes the stake of the larger community in the outcome, the basic social structure within which these lesser relationships must find their place. The agency represents that stable social whole with which individuals and groups must find their own adjustment, with which they must come to terms, if they are to avail themselves of its help. In the second place, it sustains and protects the worker in the helpful, noncontrolling use of himself in relation with others, exacting from him disciplined restraint upon the undue exercise of his own will and power, either in understanding or feeling, and upon the undue expression of his own interest, judgment, and purpose, in the choice of ends or means. Thus, the agency conserves the basic democratic quality of the helping relationship, while at the same time sustaining the essential framework of a stable democratic society.

This, then, at long last, is generic social work practice as I conceive it. In summary: It deals with *problems* not of the social environment, as such, nor of human personalities, as such, but with the problems of relationship between them. Its objective is not in changes of social structure or of personality but in improvement and facilitation of the actual process by which people are enabled to find, sustain, and use constructive social relationships. Its methods and skills are encompassed in a disciplined capacity to initiate, sustain, and use a direct

helping relationship with people, based upon a sensitive, alert awareness of the meaning and effect of one's own feeling, thought, and action, and that of other persons, in the development of the coöperative process that is going on between them, and based, also, upon a clear acceptance of the limits of his own role and responsibility, as determined by the function of the agency he represents. Finally, social work is guided and enlivened by a democratic philosophy which recognizes the right and the responsibility of individuals to manage their own lives, but always within the framework of a democratically organized and democratically controlled social whole.

Now, what is the relation of community organization practice to this generic social work as we have defined it? Do the problems, the objectives, the methods and skills, the dominating philosophy, of community organization fall within these general boundaries?

If we define community organization in its broadest sense, as a recent writer has done, as "deliberately directed effort to assist groups in attaining unity of purpose and action . . . in behalf of either general or special objectives,"¹ it is clear that a substantial part of community organization falls even outside the broader field of "social welfare," of which the whole of social work is an integral part. But it is also clear that another substantial part, whose function has been described in a recent report as that of creating and maintaining "a progressively more effective adjustment between social welfare resources and social welfare needs,"² certainly belongs within the "social welfare" field. But does this practice of community organization for a "social welfare" purpose conform to our criteria of generic social work practice?

So far as its scope has been defined in terms of the focal problems with which its practice is concerned, it seems to me clear that there is a steadily advancing agreement among its practitioners and leaders that those problems, like the basic subject matter of social work as a whole, center definitely in social relationships as such, as distinct from any particular set of circumstances or any particular forces or sources of difficulty, either in the social environment or in the human personality. One cannot conceive of "social needs" without thinking of people in social relationships; one cannot conceive of "adjusting

¹ Wayne McMillen, "Community Organization in Social Work," in *Social Work Year Book 1947*, ed. Russell H. Kurtz (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947), p. 110.

² Arthur Dunham, "The Literature of Community Organization," in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 413.

social resources to social needs" without recognizing that the basic problem with which one is dealing is that of relationships between people. If one chooses to accept Wilber Newstetter's original conception of community organization as "intergroup work," the case for identifying its basic problems with those of generic social work is even more convincing.

But what are its specific objectives in dealing with these problems? Is community organization practice concerned specifically with facilitating the process of social adjustment, or is it directed to the attainment of more tangible and specific ends? It is clear, I think, that we approach more debatable ground when we face this question. Despite the growth of articulated theory which identifies the objective of community organization with the characteristic objectives we have ascribed to generic social work, there remain two obstacles to the realization of this theory in actual practice. In the first place, community organization is often dissociated from actual service of specific individuals or groups; that is, the needs to which it is addressed are frequently outside the immediate experience or sphere of responsibility of those who are involved in the community organizing process and relationship. It is easy, therefore, for both promoters and participants in the process to find their satisfaction and sense of achievement in the creation of a well-articulated, symmetrical, deftly organized structure and mechanism rather than in the process of helping individual people fulfill their own social needs, to which that structure and mechanism are ostensibly and truly dedicated. There is nothing discreditable in this kind of satisfaction. We all share it in some measure. But it does dissociate the activity which it dominates from what we have called the province of social work. For social work, if we are right about it, is expressly and exclusively concerned with helping people find satisfying social adjustment to and through their social institutions and relationships. Its true objective is in facilitating this process of adjustment. Its only concern with social organization, as such, is to introduce and sustain through that organization the relationships and processes which actually do facilitate that adjustment.

The second source of possible doubt about the identification of the specific objectives of community organization with those of generic social work is in the fact that the process of organization often follows rather than precedes the choice of goals. In the planning stage, before organization itself really begins, not only is the problem

likely to be identified and defined, but a diagram of the specific outcome to be achieved is likely to emerge, and the achievement of this outcome, then, can easily become the criterion of the success of the whole undertaking. From this point forward, organization can center in the objective of obtaining acceptance and realization of the particular plan—that is, the attainment of a preconceived product of organization—rather than in the process of helping the community to identify and appreciate the need, to choose a suitable means of filling the need, and to muster its strength to achieve this self-determined goal.

In this respect, community organization faces precisely the same hazards that have beset social casework and social group work from the beginning, and which they have only recently and only partially mastered. The old formula, for instance, of “investigation, diagnosis and treatment,” so long revered in social casework, as the basis of a presumably scientific and systematic professional process, carries with it the same threat to make a preconceived plan or end—chosen, it is true, prayerfully and sincerely out of superior professional vision and understanding—the decisive objective and ultimate criterion of achievement in the life of the client rather than the freeing and helping of the client to choose and achieve his own end. The same threat pursues the social group worker, whose effort can easily be diverted from facilitating the process of group development and growth, to the operation of a particular program of group activity which seems to the professional leader the most suitable and satisfying for a particular group in a particular setting. Community organizers, if they are to achieve the fruits of their service within the framework of social work, have to guard themselves against this same insidious temptation to choose for the community a plan which the organizer then proceeds to carry through.

It is obvious, I think, that here, as elsewhere in social work, the choice of objectives reflects the acceptance of a basic philosophy, which in turn comes to expression in process, method, and skill. The philosophy underlying social work practice, we have declared, is definitely and wholly a democratic philosophy. On that principle it cannot compromise. It may grope and fumble in its quest for insight and strength to realize all its implications. And it faces, always, the basic problem of democratic life—the integration of the knowledge and skill of the expert with the broad and varied experience of the mass

of men, in the process of democratic decision and action—but it holds firmly to the fundamental concept that in the making of such decisions the “expert must always be on tap, never—almost—never on top.” The community organizer, whose primary client, it may be said, is the whole community, faces this problem in more acute and potent form than any of the rest of us, for he is dealing with powerful, discordant forces that take even a longer time to become integrated, than do those in individuals and face-to-face groups. He has to believe and to remember, constantly, that the community is the master of its own destiny; that it has the right to make its own mistakes; that it also has within itself a reservoir of infinitely varied insights and strengths of all its members, which must find outlet in the formulation and achievement of its own purpose, if the genius of democracy and its special values are to be conserved and fulfilled.

It is when we turn to the methods and processes of community organization, and the skills it requires, that the haze of uncertainty and ambiguity as to its relationship with generic social work becomes most difficult to dispel. This is not surprising, in view of the relatively brief time within which these problems have been subjected to systematic study. There is, however, undoubtedly developing an ever widening acceptance of a basic concept of method and skill in this area of practice which identifies it positively with that which dominates other areas of social work, namely, the worker's capacity to initiate and sustain a direct helping relationship with individual people and groups of people. The use of such method and skill is obviously modified and complicated by the fact that the individuals and groups with which the community organizer works are often representatives of other groups whom he may not directly or regularly meet, but of whose interests and feelings and purposes he must be alertly aware. But his relationship to those groups is, nevertheless, from this point of view, ultimately dependent most directly upon the way in which he uses himself in his relations with their individual representatives.

There is, however, at least one historical and contemporary manifestation of a contrary concept of what constitutes the basic process, method, and skill in community organization, which tends to separate and distinguish it from what we have described as generic social work practice. That is the concept which places heavy emphasis upon the methods and skills necessarily involved in research, administration, planning, and interpretation, as factors in the professional

equipment of the community organizer. There is little doubt in my own mind that all these processes, in their best estate, involve not a little of the same self-awareness and sensitivity to others in a relationship which we have described as the dominant attributes of sound method and skill in all social work. There is nothing inherently incompatible between these skills and the basic skill of social work. But the danger signal, in relation to the question under discussion, must be hoisted, because of the way in which, in the literature as well as in practice, they are apparently separated and dissociated one from another. Research, planning, administration, and interpretation are frequently assumed to be concerned only with things, with facts, with ideas, rather than with people; they are made to appear as products of some sort of occult, private operation, apart from any process that goes on in relationship with others. Then they are made to assume such importance in the total equipment and activity of the community organizer as to overshadow the primary social work process, method, and skill of using one's self in direct personal and group relations. They are thought to require an utterly different kind of person, subject to a different kind of discipline.

Indeed, one writer has recently suggested that the primary skill of developing and using constructive individual and group relationships is so imperfectly understood and is so largely dependent upon inherent personal quality rather than professional discipline, that what we have called the secondary skills and responsibilities of research, administration, planning, and interpretation must continue, apparently, to determine the major equipment of the community organizer. Yet the same writer remarks that the development of the professional process of community organization in social work has placed increasing emphasis, "not upon the attainment of immediate objectives, but upon methods of strengthening the intergroup process."³ How is that "intergroup process" going to be strengthened, through professional intervention, except by the disciplined command of one's professional self in direct relationships with individuals and groups?

In summary, then, I conclude, that community organization practice is social work practice, that its practitioners can share in the development of a single profession of social work, on three conditions: (1) if and when their focal concerns and their primary objectives re-

³ McMillen, *loc. cit.*

late always to the development and guidance of the process by which people find satisfying and fruitful social relationships, and not to the attainment of specific, preconceived products or forms of relationship; (2) if and when these objectives are sought consistently through the realization of a democratic philosophy and faith which respects the right and the responsibility of communities, as of individuals, to create their own satisfying relationships, and to use those relationships to their own chosen ends; and (3) if and when the basic processes, methods, and skills that are demanded and employed in actual practice are those that inhere in the worker's capacity to initiate and sustain a helping, not a controlling, relationship with individuals and groups.

All of this demands extraordinary faith—faith in people, in their capacity, individually and in the mass, to discover and to fulfill their own needs, and, above all, faith in a helping process itself, as a medium through which people individually, in groups, in intergroup relationships, and in the mass, can, if they will, discover their own purposes and powers, face their actual alternatives, appraise their potential consequences, and muster their resources to choose and achieve their own appropriate ends. It requires, also, the kind of faith and the kind of feeling that finds its highest satisfaction in facilitating the achievement of others rather than in the exercise of personal power. It demands faith, also, that progress in a democratic society must have democratic roots as well as democratic trunk and branches.

This is the faith on which social work as an integral whole is founded, and which it has justified by works of unquestioned validity and significance in our society. If community organization actually demands and expresses that same faith in its daily operations, it is, indeed, a part—a vital, constructive part—of social work practice.

THE SOCIAL INTERGROUP WORK PROCESS

By Wilber I. Newstetter

IN A DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL INTERGROUP WORK PROCESS certain assumptions may be made:

1. Social process is essentially the psychic interaction that takes place between people in connection with adjustive efforts of group and communal living. These adjustive efforts include man's attempt to satisfy his basic biological and personal needs in conformity with the cultural atmosphere of social life. These adjustive efforts include man's attempt as an individual to rise above the biological level and to live harmoniously in relation to the culture of which he is a dynamic part. These adjustive efforts also include man's attempt to modify this culture from time to time as a more suitable climate in which he may live a personally satisfying life.

These adjustive efforts likewise include collective man's attempt, that is, the community's and society's attempt, to meet community needs, such as a reliable system of law, order, protection, health, housing, division of labor, education, transportation, recreation, welfare, and religious expression. The democratic community also needs provision for the learning of coöperation, participation, delegation of responsibility and authority, accountability. These are all needs which have to be satisfied, or the community and society will collapse, leaving a condition in which individual man would find it difficult if not impossible to satisfy his personal needs.

Just as an individual cannot exist apart from the reasonable satisfaction of certain biological and personal needs, so also a community and a society cannot exist unless the collective and corporate needs are adequately satisfied. These two aspects of social adjustive effort, provide the two foci about which the mutual seeking and mutual becoming of the social process revolve.

2. The nature and quality of any specific instance of social process are affected by the objectives, knowledge, methods, techniques, and philosophies of those who are parties to that process. In a sense, the

process may be viewed as the result of the application of methods and techniques as well as of the other factors, such as the component parts of the immediate situation and, particularly, the existing relationships of the parties to the process.

3. There is a core of indispensable and communicable knowledge which, when directed toward the specifically defined purposes of social work, and when disciplined by the use of consistent social work methods and techniques applied in a defined role, constitute the professional practice of social work.

4. A social process, such as some specific effort in community organization and planning, becomes a social work process in the technical sense when: (1) the objectives are social work objectives; (2) the process is being consciously effected by a person selected or accepted by the groups involved, whose professional capacity is primarily that of bringing the disciplines of social work knowledge and methods to bear on the problem.

5. It follows that many community organization and planning efforts do not qualify as social work processes with respect to one or both of these delineating factors.

6. We can agree to such broad definitions of community organization as have been so ably stated by Walter Pettit, Wayne McMillen, Arthur Dunham, Leonard Mayo, Arlien Johnson, and others. For our purposes we shall assume that there are three discernible processes in the field of community organization, at least two of which—the educational and promotional process and administrative process on the interagency level—are not peculiar to social work, but in which every agency from the local to the international level is, of necessity, engaged. The process to which my attention is directed is, in my judgment, probably unique as a potential part of social work practice, but it is only one of the three processes which we may identify as a part of community organization and planning.

7. Only a person with professional qualifications for social work practice would be able to use methods which would permit us to identify the resulting process as a social work process.

In the social group work process, there are two purposes to which the adjustive efforts are primarily directed: (1) the meeting of personal needs of particular individuals through voluntary group association; and (2) the meeting of community or societal needs. The emphasis is directed toward mutually satisfactory interpersonal rela-

tions between the members of the given group through which the individuals may satisfy their need for social adjustment, development, and growth, on the one hand; and through which at the same time certain basic community needs may be met, such as the need for people to coöperate, to learn the accepted values represented by that community, and to learn to participate in the process of modifying and creating social value in the indispensable community processes of coöperating, adjusting to division of labor, learning social responsibility, accountability, delegation of authority, and the like.

It is intended that individuals should use group life to satisfy individual, personal needs; but it is also intended that there should be a dividend to society in this process, and that individuals should learn to articulate themselves in an effective relationship to other groups which compose the community. It is also intended that this group shall learn to participate responsibly in the community process of relating themselves to other groups while furthering the social action which seems to them important in the process of fulfilling, modifying, and creating community values.

The social worker's role is one of employing social work knowledge, methods, and techniques in meeting personal and community needs through the group. This results in what we term the "social group work process." It is important to note that there are forms of work with groups which center primarily on only one of these two basic objectives. For example, there are significant efforts in which the process revolves primarily around meeting the personal needs of particular individuals. Some of these efforts are termed "group therapy"; others may be more properly called "work with individuals in groups." These put the great preponderance of effort on bringing about personality change, or concentrate on helping to meet personal need. The emphasis is on only one of the two foci, although it may be assumed that in a general way this in itself represents fulfillment of a community need.

There are other notable and fruitful efforts in working with groups without equal focus on particular individuals. The educational campaigns and meetings connected with the abolition of child labor, the promotion of fair employment practices and concepts, the open forum and group discussion centering on various social issues are among the more important. These efforts we do not understand, important as they are, as typical instances of social group work

process, any more than we understand the former to be. Here again the overwhelming emphasis is rightly on only one focus.

Both types of process are examples of social process. In both of them the worker employs some methods that are also employed in the other. Both represent work with groups. However, it is only when we find the combined and consistent and balanced pursuit of both of these objectives—meeting personal needs of particular individuals and specific community needs—that we have what I call social group work.

There are certainly other valid definitions, but they do not depart too far from this basic conception; and the role of social worker in this process is clearly that of a disciplined enabler. As much as possible of the responsibility for the process, the activities of the group, and the results is carried by the members of the group. The professional practitioner shares an appropriate responsibility. The community and society insist upon this.

It is well to point out that one of the methods by which the members of the group and society are enabled to benefit directly through the process of group interaction so that individual growth and social results are simultaneously accomplished, is by helping the group to relate itself to other community groups in such a way that the individuals benefit and the community benefits. It is because of community benefit that the community and the society commission and sanction this kind of effort, and that persons who may become proficient in the art of performing this definite service may be classified as professional in the learned and responsible sense.

It is also to be noted that while each one of these group members may be representative of some other group or groups, he is not there primarily in such capacity. It is not the adjustmental relations between these groups of which our group members are representative that constitutes one of the two foci in this process of social group work, but rather the adjustmental relations between the individuals themselves. This is an important distinction, as we shall see when we examine the concept of social intergroup work.

The first focus in the social intergroup work process deals with the adjustmental relations between groups and not the personal needs of the members of the intergroup who are primarily representatives of some group or groups. The need, therefore, is not primarily that of particular individuals for adjusting themselves to other in-

dividuals; it is the need of groups in a given community to maintain mutually satisfying relations with other groups. In the social group work process one main focus is in terms of the interpersonal relations of group members. Here, this is important only as a means to an end, the end being the relations between the groups.

The second focus is again related to meeting community and societal needs, but it may be defined as specific social goals selected and accepted by the groups involved, such as, for example, child welfare service, family welfare service, recreation, housing, fair employment practices, and the like. In other words, this process is directed toward the adjustmental relations between the groups in terms of some specific social goal. There is no real accomplishment in this process, no matter how well adjusted and related the individuals may become with respect to each other, unless and until the adjustmental relations between groups are furthered in terms of the selected goal. No matter how well adjusted to each other the individuals become through the social process in the intergroup, such results, although important, are to be judged unfruitful from the intergroup work point of view unless the adjustmental relations between the members of the groups in their routine contacts are actually improved in terms of the specific selected and accepted goals.

For example, representatives from groups such as unions, management, racial and religious groups, participating in an intergroup work process in which the selected social goal is fair employment practices, are not effective in achieving this goal unless, on the one hand, they are instrumental in bringing about employment of members of the racial and religious groups involved by members of the management group; and, on the other hand, they bring about active union membership of these employees. This points to two crucial aspects of the social intergroup work process: (1) there must be mutually satisfactory relations between all members of the groups in their contacts involving the selected social goal; and (2) what we call the "from and to" between the groups responsibly represented, and their representatives. At the latter point a great proportion of these efforts break down. A responsible relationship is one in which there is response. Irresponsible participation of individuals too often results in adjustment between the individuals in terms of social goals, but it does not accomplish the real purposes which are to be expected from such a process. Where the "from and to" of the groups and their rep-

representatives in the intergroup become weak, we have a situation of representative irresponsibility, the result of which usually eventuates in a condition more nearly described by the social group work situation than by the social intergroup work one. We have seen this happen time and time again when social group workers have attempted to deal with "house councils" and where over a period of time the responsible relations to the groups represented are not maintained and effectively developed; finally, the intergroup is used by the individual members primarily to meet individual and personal needs.

The role of the worker in the intergroup work process is to bring social work methods to bear on the attainment of the goals selected by the groups. The worker is primarily in the role of an enabler and not a "doer," as are so many people operating in the field of community organization. We are agreed that there are aspects of community organization where the worker rightfully assumes primarily the role of a "doer." This is necessary under many conditions of social welfare administration. Such a role, however, would be as out of place in social intergroup work, as it is in social casework practice, and in social group work practice.

Someone is going to say that processes are not aimed at goals. I think it can be demonstrated that they are. There is no point to them if they are not. One kind of process is developed because it is presumed to be more effective than some other kind of process in attaining certain ends. I should like to challenge the idea that the worker's responsibility is only on the side of process, and that the clientele takes all the responsibility for outcome. In my judgment, since every social process involves mutual seeking and mutual becoming, the responsibility must be shared. The client, or the group members, or the intergroup and groups involved must coöperate in, and share responsibility for, the appropriate social work process; while the worker, by virtue of the fact that he employs one rather than another kind of method, cannot avoid sharing some of the responsibility for the results.

The specific functions of the social worker practicing social intergroup work may be divided into seven categories:

A. Broad general functions:

1. To understand: the individual representatives, the groups represented, the adjustmental relations between representatives, the

adjustmental relations between groups, the intergroup, and the wide geographical and/or otherwise pertinent communities and groups

2. To assist in the selection, creation, modification, and discard of specific social goals
 3. To further the development of mutually satisfactory relations between groups represented in the intergroup, in terms of the selected social goals
 4. To enable the intergroup to form, to function, and, if need be, to disband
 5. To develop and maintain suitable adjustmental relations as a professional person with the intergroup, the groups represented, with the group representatives, and with such other groups or individuals as are pertinent to social intergroup work process objectives
 6. To enable the "from and to," which is the life line of the social intergroup work process
 7. To act as resource person for the intergroup and the groups and the individual representatives
 8. To interpret the worker's functions
 9. To help intergroup members, within the limits of the worker's competence, to face personal problems, only in so far as they relate to serious blocking of the intergroup work process.
- B. Dealing with the groups to be represented in the intergroup:
1. To enable the group to participate in identifying the social problem and in selecting the social goal or goals
 2. To enable the group to select suitable representatives or delegates
 3. To enable the group to identify and examine their own interest in relation to the social problem or goals visualized and that of the wider community or society as well; this may include suggesting other groups to be involved
 4. To discuss and interpret the role of the actual or proposed intergroup to the group
 5. To interpret other groups to be represented in the intergroup
 6. To interpret the function of the agency that is making the worker's services available, if that is not the intergroup
 7. To interpret the functions of the worker
- C. Dealing with each representative in regard to his functioning in the intergroup:
1. As group representative
 - a. To enable the intergroup member to establish and maintain a responsible relation with the group or groups he is presumably representative of (type 3), or is officially representing (type 1 and 2) as delegate or representative
 - b. To help each intergroup member to function responsibly,

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that is, to understand, accept, delimit, and perform his role as group representative

- c. To help him understand the other intergroup members, the groups they represent, and the nature of the process in which he is engaged
 - d. To help him establish and maintain mutually satisfactory relations with the other representatives and the worker
 - e. To help the representative to gain or lose status in the intergroup
 - f. To enable him to present and represent his group viewpoint adequately
2. As intergroup member
 - a. In general, to enable him to understand, accept, and perform his role as intergroup member, consistent with his role as group representative
 - b. To share in the responsibility of the intergroup to develop its functions, structure, and operating practices
 - c. To enable him to carry his specific responsibility as officer of the intergroup, chairman or member of a committee, or representative of the intergroup in some other group
 - d. To help him to identify any purely personal opinion as such, or as the viewpoint of some group other than the one he is presumed to represent
- D. Dealing with each representative in relation to his functioning in his group or groups:
1. To help him understand his group or groups
 2. To enable him to help his group identify and examine their own interest in the social problem or goals visualized, but at the same time, that of other groups as well as of the community in general and of society; and to act and react responsibly
 3. To enable him to interpret other groups represented in the intergroup
 4. To enable the group through the representatives to interact with the other groups represented in the intergroup, in terms of the social goals
 5. In emergencies to substitute for and supplement the representative, or to enable the representative to make adequate provision for any unavoidable absence
 6. To enable the representative to be informed of action taken in his absence and to act accordingly
- E. Dealing with the intergroup as a whole, or its constituted parts, such as committees:
1. To help it relate to other groups or individuals in the geographical or wide community
 2. To enable it to discover, modify, and discard specific social goals

3. To help it develop suitable structure and operating practices to implement its goals, and to evaluate its accomplishment from time to time
 4. To help it determine and modify its membership basis, the number and the scope of groups involved
 5. To enable it to develop and to contain a group bond of strength sufficient only to maintain its operations adequately
 6. To interpret the worker's function and that of the agency making services available, if that is not the intergroup itself
 7. To interpret constantly the intergroup's function
 8. To serve as resource person, and to enable certain administrative functions to be performed, such as minutes, agenda, arrangements, notifications, etc.
- F. Dealing with groups not represented in the intergroup, but related to its activities and purpose:
1. To help a designated person represent, or in certain circumstances actually to represent, the intergroup
 2. To interpret the intergroup, its purposes, its activities, and its proposals to other groups
- G. Dealing with the agency that makes his services available, if that is not the intergroup itself:
1. To interpret the intergroup and its program
 2. To help the agency see the limitations of its relation to the intergroup

Generally speaking, the role of the worker is specifically: (1) to enable the intergroup to develop suitable structure and operating practices to attain the achievement of the social goals selected; (2) to enable individuals in the intergroup to function adequately both with respect to the activities of the intergroup and with respect to the groups they are representing or are representative of; and (3) to enable the groups represented to participate appropriately in the process.

We may visualize at least three types of intergroup. In type 1 the members are the official delegates of their group, are instructed, and voting action is thus restricted. In type 2 the members are official representatives of their groups but are more or less free to take responsible action within limitations which the representatives themselves impose. In type 3 the members are merely representative of certain groups. Often described as "influential people," or as people with a "contribution" to make, they are usually not designated or selected by the groups which they represent but are selected by some

person or some group for a given purpose related to the intergroup or its functioning. Sometimes these persons are selected by workers of the agency which is seeking to organize the intergroup.

These types vary with respect to potentialities for maintaining the lifeline of the intergroup work process, namely, for the "from and to" between the intergroups and the groups involved. Type 1 is an intergroup with a partially insured "from and to"; type 2 is a group with a nominal "from and to"; while type 3 is a group with only a potential "from and to." No one of these types appears to be inherently "better" than the others. Many intergroups are combinations of types. No intergroup can be made up of just individuals. This would be a group rather than an intergroup.

In type 3 it is sometimes hard to develop the "response" in responsibility. In fact, many workers fail to realize that this is even essential. The result frequently is that the intergroup does not function as such, but primarily as a group. This is disastrous time and again.

Nothing that is allowed to go under the name of social work practice should permit or encourage "individuals" to remain as mere individuals in the intergroup situation. It seems to me that the individual has no social significance apart from responsible group functioning; and that, except to its own members, the group has no social significance apart from responsible community functioning.

It is important to note that I am not using the word "group" as synonymous with the word "agency." A council of social agencies, in my opinion, needs to be balanced by wider representation of groups other than social agencies. And these groups need to be responsibly represented.

Let us look more closely at the functions of the social worker in intergroup work, and let us examine briefly the so-called "how" of things. Here are two examples from student records of some simple ways in which the "from and to" was consciously developed:

At a meeting of one of the clubs which I was attending as an observer and resource person, one of the members made a suggestion which involved modifying the social goal of the intergroup. The president of the club, who was also the club's representative in the intergroup, asked me to deal with the suggestion. There had been little "from and to" between the intergroup and the group, so I used this as an opportunity to suggest that the whole club discuss the member's proposal, and instruct their representa-

tive regarding the presentation of their conclusions at the next meeting of the intergroup.

And again:

In a meeting of the intergroup, there was discussion regarding a name for the newspaper, the production of which was then the social goal. This reached an impasse, and I did not encourage the achievement of a solution by the intergroup in order that the issue might be a tool in encouraging the development of "from and to." I suggested that this question be referred back to the clubs for discussion and that their recommendations be brought to the intergroup at its next meeting.

Now let us take a look at the activities of the social worker in intergroup work in another one of the functions mentioned above: "working with a representative in regard to his functioning in the intergroup, as an intergroup member." In this case, the student's record says:

"I'm on so many committees, I don't know whether I'm coming or going," was the complaint of the new chairman of the Recreation Committee of the Kingsbury Community Council in his first conference with the worker. The worker asked if there were some way she could help him so he would not be so rushed, and he said he felt that she could. He said he did not know why he had been appointed, except that he did know a lot of people since he had lived in the Kingsbury district all his life.

The worker was faced with the job of helping to build a lay committee since the previous committee had consisted largely of professionals, and was not able to do a successful grass roots job. The chairman expressed some insecurity at the outset as to his ability to function as chairman. Yet he had real ability, was a dentist who had worked hard for his education. Moreover, he had been active in politics and had attempted fifteen years ago to buck the machine and get elected on an independent ticket. A Negro, he had many patients from various racial and religious groups. In campaigning he had called on almost every family in the neighborhood. During the war he was one of three on the ward's draft board.

The first two meeting dates—first of the subcommittee and then of the committee itself—were set by the worker after conferring with the chairman. The worker then went to see him to report on the contacts she had made and to discuss with him the actual plan for the subcommittee meeting. She said it was his job to preside at the meeting, until such time as there was a chairman for the group. "Oh, I'm not so good at presiding at meetings," he said with hesitancy; after a pause he added, "but I guess I've got to learn to do that sometime." The worker said she thought this would be a good opportunity, and he knew most of the people personally.

Two days later, however, in a conference about the approaching meet-

ing, he said, "Oh, I thought the meeting was next week." The worker reminded him that he was referring to the committee itself, skipping the subcommittee meeting which was to be held first. He said he had another meeting that night at his club and was disturbed that there were so many meetings. He said his doctor was telling him to do less. Then he said he would try to get to the subcommittee meeting.

The worker reviewed what the meeting would hope to accomplish and discussed the problem of the leadership of this subcommittee. The specific problem was one of how a chairman could be obtained so that the group could immediately assume more responsibility for its own self-direction. The chairman conceded he could get there at 8:30 and leave at 9:30, the meeting having been set for 8:00 on the one night he had no office hours.

On Monday the worker reported to the chairman, as prearranged, on contacts she had made. She gave the chairman a list of people whom she had contacted, and their addresses, and checked those persons who had agreed to come. "Most of the folks already know what the meeting is about, then?" the chairman asked the worker. The worker replied, "Yes," and that she had told each one what her function was, what the committee was attempting to do, and the nature of the contribution that each one could make. Moreover, she had asked what each one thought about the problem.

The worker asked the chairman whether he thought it would be necessary for him to state the purpose of the meeting, even though the worker had stated it to each one individually, since there would be a few new ones present, and it would be good to have the group hear the purpose all together. "Oh, yes, you have to do that every chance you get," the chairman said. Then the worker suggested that the chairman lead the discussion so that the group would have an opportunity to state the specific purpose and to agree on what they want to work for. Then they could consider what the jobs are, and what they need to do to reach their goal. The worker reported to the chairman the several approaches that had been suggested by the persons whom she had contacted. The chairman picked up the most popular one—that a petition be circulated—and said this was the way he thought we needed to work. The worker suggested that these ideas as to method be brought out again from the people present that night. She said she would speak only if some of the relevant ideas of people who were interested but unable to be present, were not otherwise brought out. Then she would submit these. The group would actually decide on the methods to be used.

The worker and chairman tentatively outlined the four jobs which needed to be done. The chairman said he thought a committee of three would be good to work on each of these jobs. The worker said that was a fine idea, it would give almost everyone something to do. The chairman said, yes, and then they would be more interested. The worker then suggested combining the two ideas they had had about selecting leadership: have people volunteer for the jobs they wanted to help with, and have the

chairman appoint a chairman for each of the jobs. Then the four or more chairmen could constitute a steering committee to whom the worker would be responsible until such time as the group knew itself well enough to elect officers. This would eliminate the fears of the worker and the chairman that the one person whom he might appoint as chairman would not be acceptable to everyone and would alienate some; or that the person might not be adequate for the whole task. The chairman seemed pleased with this suggestion and relieved that the outlook for the progress of the committee was brighter. He seemed to have found a better sense of direction, which the worker felt too. He turned to her and, smiling, said, "I do believe I'll have to clean your teeth for you some day, this is working out so well."

From the preceding enumerations of functions, as well as from simple illustrations of "how," it appears that the "what" and the "how"—ends and means—are really inseparable in professional practice; that they are really combined in what could be described as professional methods. It seems to me that here we have something that is basically akin to the methods of social casework, or social group work; something that meets the criteria of social work practice and entitles the process which is the result in part of the use of these methods to be classified as social work practice.

When the essential task in response to specific invitation, or accepted offer of service, is to enable groups through their own representatives to determine specific social goals, to enable groups to plan coöperatively for the achievement of these goals, and to obtain unity of responsible action and interaction in their achievement; when the quality of the relations between groups is just as important a consideration as the specific social goals pursued; when the role of the social worker is primarily a disciplined enabling job in the area of intergroup relations; when the worker feels that his role, while doing all of this, is at the same time to give equal emphasis to community need by helping groups to identify the wider community interest in the social goal, and to enable the intergroup to include representatives from all groups who have a stake in the specific social goal, then I suggest that we need the application of social work methods which will produce the social intergroup work process.

EDUCATIONAL AND PROMOTIONAL PROCESS IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

By Lester B. Granger

WALKING IS AN ACTIVITY ENGAGED IN by every physically normal human being. And yet, if anyone of us should be asked how we walk—what specific muscular and nervous processes are involved in the act of walking—there is not one of us who could give the answer. This simple instinctive act not only involves so many complex interactions of the human body that it defies description, but it has been engaged in for so long without conscious thinking that we take the act itself for granted without understanding it.

The same thing is true of community organization, especially in its educational and promotional phases. In the comparatively few years during which community organization has been recognized as a specific professional function, we have come to understand that it is inaccurate to speak of the community organization agency in the strict sense and that rather than an agency classification, community organization is a social work process engaged in at one time or another by practically every agency operating in the social welfare and planning field. It is a matter of program emphasis and not program monopoly that produces the classification. So, small and large agencies, casework, social group work, and health organizations, all at one time or another are concerned with educating the community to full realization of the existence of a social need and with organizing that community to take steps to serve the need. But most of these steps have been taken almost instinctively on a common-sense basis rather than with full awareness of what processes are involved and how the community responds to the specific application of this or that community organization method.

However, if we are to learn to "walk" with greater speed and more directly to our goal, it is necessary for us to understand more exactly what goes into the operation which we are carrying on. In this respect it is helpful to look with special care at the interpretive

and publicity programs of agencies which have either been organized in fairly recent years or which are working in fields where public interest has been greatly intensified during the last decade. This is true, for instance, of tuberculosis and cancer. It is especially true of polio and heart programs. The kind of concentrated attention which the Federal and state governments have been directing to maternal and infant care, the prolonged examination of social legislation programs developing from the original Roosevelt messages on social security and old age assistance—all this has accelerated social agency operations in these fields as well. From a study of the growth of the agencies concerned with these areas of need, and from step-by-step analysis of the increase in public support and in the efficiency of agency programs dependent upon that support, we are able now to come to certain definite conclusions regarding the educational and promotional process in community organization.

We know, first of all, that the American public is inclined to be unselective and indiscriminating in its response to social appeals except on the basis of current disaster situations, or the emotional overlay of the problem. Lynching is a horrible manifestation of the worst of our antisocial nature, and the public, therefore, responds energetically to an appeal to stamp out lynching. Tuberculosis has been dramatized as the "great white plague" over a long number of years, dating back to the period when lack of scientific knowledge made the malady mysterious and, thereby, more fearsome. Heart disease is less dramatic. Cancer is a "quieter" form of affliction. Malnutrition and the deaths resulting from it have been considered "acts of God" to be endured patiently and without demonstrative resistance. Only within our generation has the public in general been made aware of the close connection between malnutrition and bad housing and death from tuberculosis, and that awareness is the result of patient, unremitting, and skillful education by the agencies working in this field.

Thus it can be seen that the first step in community organization is education, involving the development of a general community awareness of the nature of the problem, and a definition of its outlines with an indication of the special interests which the general public has in it. The American Heart Association has been in existence for not more than twenty-five years, and yet through the journals, pamphlets, and leaflets published by the Association, its emphasis

on the social, economic, and mental aspects of cardiac problems, its exhibit materials and educational conferences, its sponsorship of research and development of subordinate groups to investigate special phases of heart disease—through all these methods, the American Heart Association has been able to impress its message upon the attention of the American public to a remarkable extent. The American Cancer Society has corralled public attention through its nation-wide annual drives. The National Tuberculosis Association has accomplished the same end through the establishment of a tremendously large number of local affiliations in more than two thousand communities. Here we have three different types of organization—the one depending upon research and publication of its findings; another, upon national financial campaigns; and the third, upon a network of local groups—but all of them succeeding by one means or another in capturing the attention of the American public for their areas of special concern.

While public attention is being caught and held, there must also proceed concurrently the careful and scientific organization of the body of knowledge on the subject. The public interest is notoriously fluctuating unless it has something solid on which to hold. Three decades ago, antituberculosis programs were stimulated by the slogan "Consumption Is Curable." It was the reassuring note lightening a message of horror which lifted the courage and intensified the determination of the public to stamp out "the great white plague." Misery too long advertised without accompanying instructions for its eradication tends, in the long run, to be accepted by the public as something to be endured because it cannot be avoided. Thus the next move in the educational process is to identify and outline the positive steps which the public or its agencies must take in order to solve the problem which has been advertised. I am especially conscious of this need because in the field of race relations, with which the National Urban League is engaged, public interest has often been stultified and discouraged by the note of profound hopelessness sounded by those who protest against racial hatred and discrimination. When we emphasize that a thing has been done, we assure the public that it can be done again and again until the need for doing it has departed.

Thus education is directed, not only at developing public awareness of the need for action, but also at informing the public as to

what action specifically is necessary and is most likely to be effective. When these ends have been accomplished, the educational process as such can be said to have been largely completed. The next step is that of promotion.

Promotional activities in community organization are too often undertaken while subject to two fatal handicaps. The one is incompletion or misdirection of the educational process; the other is incomplete knowledge of community attitudes, a knowledge which can be made complete only by careful analysis of the forces which are potentially for or against execution of the program. The national drive for health security, for medical insurance, has been slowed down considerably and unforgivably by failure on the part of its early leaders to analyze and understand the attitudes within the medical profession. Any form of health insurance depends, in the last degree, upon wholehearted support by an overwhelming majority of medical practitioners. Medical men are notorious for conservative attitudes on economic and social, as well as professional, questions, and yet a gigantic drive was planned and tentatively initiated without sufficient effort to take the medical profession into confidence and to resolve, first of all, the grave and usually honest doubts which medical practitioners entertain regarding the entrance of "the State" into the field of private medical practice. Thus, in recent years, steps have had to be retraced slowly and painfully in order to build within the medical profession itself a solid core of support—from conservatives rather than from professional liberals—for planned state responsibility in the field of medical care.

Such problems are all too common in social work. It is significant that the greatest progress toward effective community organization has been made in those areas where there is the least evidence of vested interest in the form of groups organized for action in those fields. The areas of Negro need in which the National Urban League has worked most freely and with least community opposition have been in industrial relations, vocational guidance, and neighborhood organization. For there are no other agencies on the national or local level equipped effectively to place Negroes in industrial and business jobs, to guide Negro youth toward wise choice of their careers, to organize Negro neighborhoods so as to develop indigenous and responsible leadership, and to promote better civic understanding and performance. When the League moves into the field of la-

bor relations, it is apt to encounter, if not the resistance, at least the suspicious aloofness of labor leadership which is jealous of its authority, fearful of subversion of that authority, and uncertain about the motives of a "bunch of social workers butting into labor business." These suspicions and hostilities are usually eliminated after attitudes have been identified, questions have been answered, and mutual confidence has been attained. But, in contrast, industrial employers who are harassed with personnel problems affected by race are apt to welcome the services of an outside agency which speaks the employer's as well as the worker's language and shows that it knows its business.

The Urban League finds it easy to talk about the principles of good housing for all the people, but when steps to attain that housing contravene the purposes of profit interest groups, threaten to change the racial character of a given neighborhood, or run into the cross fire of opposing citizen interests, the League finds that principles constitute one thing and practice something entirely different. Thus, in organizing the community for social action, it must be remembered that frequently all the community cannot be organized, and a choice, therefore, must be made as to with which groups the agency will work. It must be remembered, also, that even when over-all community support is essential, the cells of hidden or open resistance must be located and either isolated or dissolved before the organizing process can gain its full momentum.

Next in the promotional process are the discovery, the training, and the disciplining of leadership forces. Every community organization worker is familiar with the "Sentimental Susies" and the "Hysterical Harrys" of social action. These worthy and well-meaning souls are the first to appear in response to a clarion call. They are the battle-scarred veterans of many community battles, and their prior appearance on the scene is the most effective known deterrent to later recruitment of leaders. And yet the emotional drive of these social enthusiasts has its value. Their unquestioned zeal must be put to work. A nice judgmental question, therefore, is involved in the handling of the "emotionalists" among the leadership forces. They are more valuable for purposes of social legislation, as a rule, than for any other purpose. They lobby by correspondence and buttonhole-hooking; they attend and address mass meetings; they are the ideal recruits for pressure purposes.

But aside from these, there must be discovered and developed leaders among the average-citizen type of supporter. For it is the average citizens, in the long run, who will determine the success or failure of social action. They must be introduced to the language of the cause. They must be indoctrinated with the thinking which the language expresses. They must be known to each other, so that they work in concert and with a fair degree of mutual trust, in spite of differences of opinion on extraneous issues.

And here is emphasized the need for indigenous leadership, whether of the state, the city, or the neighborhood. The American National Red Cross has learned this lesson so well that in spite of the fact that the Red Cross is a vast bureaucracy in most of its aspects, it has a hold on the affections of the community to an extent probably not equaled by any other national social work organization. The National Infantile Paralysis Foundation has similarly made use of the native leadership devices through its March of Dimes, its local neighborhood benefit program, and the heart-tugging message carried by the crippled child known to his friends and neighbors.

This is another way of saying that the social agency is effective in its community organization activities in the degree to which it assists the community in carrying forward a program, rather than carries the program itself. Millions of Americans who have contributed to the March of Dimes cannot name the agency which is the recipient of their contributions. It is not the National Infantile Paralysis Foundation which these dime-givers are supporting; it is the cause of relieving and healing the pathetic victims of a malign disease. They are rallying affectionately to the memory of a great American, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who personified, not only the blight of the disease itself, but also the deepest springs of courage with which the disease can be borne. Thus every contributor to the Foundation's annual campaign feels to a greater or less degree that he is thereby healing a child and revering the memory of a beloved national leader.

Let me cite one more example which demonstrates how a community will act on its own when it resists the ready-made program proffered by a social agency. Near Atlanta, in 1943, a branch plant of the Bell Aircraft Company was under construction. Advance information was received by the Urban League that no Negroes would be employed in the plant out of deference to a presumed Southern employment practice. The statement was made by plant representa-

tives that no trained Negroes were available. This was backed up with a declaration by public training officials in Atlanta that no interest in securing such training had been demonstrated by the Negro public. At this point, the Atlanta Urban League fell back on its community. Conferences were held with aggressive and influential Negro leaders. The message was quietly carried throughout Atlanta via churches, clubs, and fraternal lodges. A citizens' committee was organized, with the Urban League in the background and active volunteers in the lead. Of course, indignation in the Negro community ran high, but indignation and traditional gestures of protest were not sufficient. Public opinion was channeled into a mass registration movement, and war training officials were subsequently confronted with the signed applications of more than five thousand Negro men and women for admission to training courses for jobs in the Bell bomber plant. On the basis of this presentation, the indifference or resistance of public officials was broken down. Training courses were instituted. Subsequently, Negroes were hired on production jobs in the plant and held those jobs until the end of the war.

A dramatic announcement of the situation by the Urban League would not have been enough. Neither could the League, with all its board and staff members, have carried on this mass registration activity. The people had to feel that it was not only their cause, but their program. They responded to the advice of their minister, their ward leader, their favorite teacher, even the owner of their neighborhood barbershop. Here was a perfect example in microcosm of the educational and promotional processes of community organization.

This meant comparative anonymity for the organizing agency. Few persons even in Atlanta appreciate the role played by the Urban League in this situation. And this is good, because the individuals who had the thrill of participating in a successful social action program and who received recognition of their leadership are all the more valuable, as a result, for other leadership responsibilities in the future. The spotlight must be foresworn by the organizing agency if its methods are to be effective and their results lasting. That agency which insists upon carrying the load of responsibility and being subsequently bedecked with the ribbons of public appreciation will find itself shortly in the position of an old Spanish-

American War veteran telling the story of his past exploits to an impatient new generation of veterans of the second World War.

I have sought to describe something of the methods of community organization as learned in the National Urban League and from observations of successful agencies in other fields. There is nothing herein which is new or profound, for I have an iconoclastic conviction that many of us attempt too often to make a profound mystery of what is, after all, a simple common-sense professional operation. Community organization is a comparatively new term in social work, but it is an old practice of far greater age than our profession, and it is carried on in almost every phase of human living. The Cincinnati block organization plan established just after the beginning of the second World War was not a new process. It was merely a social work adaptation of a practice established by Tammany Hall in New York City back in the days of Boss Tweed. Supporters of present-day social legislation are striving frantically to learn the political strategy and develop the organized effectiveness of the real estate lobby of the old trust combines. It is not to our discredit that we have discovered nothing new. It is to our discredit if we fail to refine, improve upon, and make more effective the methods which we have borrowed from other fields for our own purposes. In our educational activities we must learn to use as efficiently as do those who oppose our purposes the tools which play upon the fear, love, and pride of the American public. We must recognize the differences between various American communities, geographical, social, and psychological. We must recognize that in the same community there are different socio-economic units which are themselves small communities. We must recognize, also, that a psychological or an economic link can join many communities which are widely separated in a geographical sense, but which are closely linked in their basic interests. The educational approach on a national scale which gains converts in the industrial Middle West may frighten and develop hostility in the residents of the rural Southeast. An appeal addressed to the "American" type of thinking may fail to impress or may even alienate first or second generation new Americans. A message which is accepted readily by the white, Gentile, Protestant bulk of our population may fail entirely to impress members of this or that racial or religious or cultural minority.

This brings us to the final point in a discussion of the educational

and promotional processes of community organization. Leadership which participates in the education and promotes the action to which community organization is addressed must be representative, in a cross-section sense, of the people affected. Our wartime civilian defense program was effective for this reason, and in those cities where it was not effective the reason could usually be ascribed to the failure to use representative leadership. Such cross-section selection undoubtedly accentuates the difficulties of community organization, but it certainly helps to guarantee effective and lasting results. And it is the result with which we are concerned, rather than with the difficulties, if we are to make community organization, in the professional social work meaning, a useful tool in the building of the American community.

GENERIC PRINCIPLES OF CASEWORK PRACTICE IN 1947

By Kenneth L. M. Pray

AS MANY SPEAKERS AND WRITERS ON SOCIAL CASEWORK have pointed out—often with a rather obvious touch of nostalgia—there was a time not long ago when it would have been fairly easy to enumerate a set of generic principles which practically all social caseworkers would accept as forming the foundations of their own practice. There would have been differences of opinion as to the applicability of all these principles under all sorts of circumstances, or as to their respective and relative value in meeting different types of need. But as a comprehensive framework for the collective tasks of social casework as a whole, they would have seemed adequate and serviceable.

It is not so easy—indeed, it seems to me impossible—to make such a list today. Genuine and substantial differences of viewpoint have appeared, concerning not only what is truly basic and essential in social casework practice, but even what actually constitutes social casework practice itself, what is its role in society, and how, it is differentiated from other forms of service with which it comes into contact or with which it is continually associated. It is true, of course, that all these diversities have grown up within a persisting framework of broad underlying concepts upon which there is continuing agreement. The fact is, however, that with the development of increasing clarity and precision of technical insight and performance, the significance of certain technical specifics has vastly increased, and the significance of broad fundamentals in guidance of daily practice has relatively diminished. This necessitates a reformulation of generic principles to incorporate more definitely all that seems basic and generic in the newly recognized and developed details of method and process. These new generalizations, therefore, inevitably differ according to the emerging differences in the weight given to specific factors by different workers or groups of workers.

I shall define some of the generic principles that emerge from one concept of social casework's role and of its basic process and method,

known commonly as the "functional approach," differentiating these principles as clearly as I am able from those that seem to characterize the practice of casework governed by other definitely distinguishable and widely accepted concepts. It seems to me important to affirm at the beginning that this emergence and definition of even basic differences, far from representing a development to be feared or averted or reversed, gives welcome and promising evidence of real progress toward professional security and maturity, for it is the outgrowth of growing technical insight and proficiency, which is the solid basis of professional development and achievement. The test of that maturity will not be in the early or even the ultimate unanimous acceptance of any one of these viewpoints or concepts, but rather in the way we are able to deal with these differences, to acknowledge their existence, to examine them with open minds, to measure them in practice, to accept their challenge for the continual re-examination and re-evaluation of even our most cherished assumptions, and then to integrate the real values of them all in a constantly advancing clarity and refinement of performance, not under group compulsion, but each according to his own responsible judgment.

I have said that there is a broad base of agreement on which practically all caseworkers have built the superstructure of their own practice and upon which all schools of social work now presumably build their programs of education in preparation for practice. For those who prize professional unity above all else, there must be real satisfaction in the breadth of that substantial foundation. In terms of definition, for instance, we could all probably agree that social casework is a process of dealing "directly and differentially with persons in need . . . individual by individual";¹ and that social caseworkers are dealing "with people who are experiencing some breakdown in their capacity to cope unaided with their own affairs."² We would agree, furthermore, that whether this breakdown be due primarily to external forces beyond the control of the individual, or to factors within the individual, "his [characteristic] way of responding to his problem and his feeling about it will be decisive factors in his use of help,"³ and that, therefore, social casework process, method, and skill involve, pre-eminently, a sensitive awareness of

¹ Charlotte Towle, "Social Case Work," in *Social Work Year Book 1947*, ed. Russell H. Kurtz (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947), p. 478.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

these factors and discriminating reaction to them as they manifest themselves in the helping process. We would agree, too, that the dynamic of this helping process depends vitally upon a relationship between client and worker which has in it the qualities of mutual confidence, respect, and freedom. We would all recognize, too, that the base on which this process, method, and skill are developed has, or ought to have, dependable scientific underpinning. And we would all accept as basic to all professional relationships and professional practice a dynamic, democratic social philosophy that pays sincere respect to individual personality, values individual differences, and conceives of social unity and progress as the outcome of the progressive integration of these differences, in social relationships that release and enlist for the individual and for the common good their unique creative values.

These generalities are significant and useful starting points for the definition and guidance of professional practice. But they acquire real meaning and validity only as they find expression in specific method and process in specific casework situations.

Take, for instance, the very first definition to which we have referred, namely, that the clients of social caseworkers "are experiencing some breakdown in their capacity to cope unaided with their own affairs." What do we mean by "some breakdown?" The scope and nature of the responsibility assumed by the social caseworker, what she undertakes to do, and the way in which she undertakes to do it, will depend fundamentally upon the significance the worker attaches, generally speaking, to that term.

The "functional" caseworker will start with the assumption that the individual faces a social reality in some part of his life with which he cannot at the moment cope alone and with which, therefore, he asks help. The worker's first responsibility is to undertake to discover, for herself and with the client, whether the problem the applicant sees and faces at this moment, and the help the worker is able to give, fit together; or whether, perhaps, some other, different kind of help is called for; or whether, indeed, the applicant has faced the whole problem with sufficient clarity to be sure that he actually needs help at all or can accept and use help on the terms in which it must be given and with all the consequences it entails for the individual. It may even be disclosed that the applicant can

find greater satisfaction in continuing to live with the problem as it is than by sharing it and doing something about it with this worker or with anybody else.

Such an approach, generically speaking, starts with the primary assumption that the applicant has personality and social strengths—perhaps latent or unorganized, perhaps blocked, confused, or distorted, but also, perhaps, directly available for use, if given outlet through clarification and appraisal of available alternatives. This approach clings steadily to the conception that this individual, whatever his strengths and weaknesses, carries responsibility for his own life as a whole and must continue to carry it. At least, he has not asked us, and we cannot consent, to take that responsibility from him. He has asked us, rather, to help him to carry that responsibility by helping him to overcome some obstacle he has faced in carrying it, and in the very act of seeking this help he has disclosed at least some elements of strength for dealing with this responsibility. The worker's task is to enable him to build on this latent strength, to face whatever realities are decisive in determining his own use of himself and available resources in relation to the problem he faces and upon which he wants to work. The problem remains his own; the responsibility for dealing with it remains with him.

Furthermore, this approach, generically speaking, also starts with the assumption—indeed, the profound conviction—that the helping dynamic, the source of healing power, is also in himself as he reaches out for help. It is not, primarily, in the worker. If there is anything which can properly be called treatment in the helping situation, it is the client who treats himself. It is his own will, his own capacity for growth and change, his own selective use of his experience, in accord with his own nature and needs, that determines the outcome. The worker, with all her knowledge and skill, cannot determine—cannot even predict—that outcome. The worker can only accept responsibility for rendering a service which the applicant sees as appropriate to his need, and for initiating and sustaining a process, within the service relationship, which enables the client to exercise his will and use his powers with greater freedom, with less fear, with more insight and clarity, as to both the purpose and the consequence of action.

Opposed to this conception of the social caseworker's role—which has sometimes been characterized as resting on a "partializing" of

experience—is what has been called the “organismic”⁴ concept of social casework. Those who hold to this view, stress the importance of the “total personality” as involved in the client’s problem and therefore at the focus of the caseworker’s responsibility. Emphasis is put upon the fact that though the individual may come for help with one aspect of his life or with one conception of his problem, his actual need often involves the basis, in himself, of his total adjustment to his total situation, of which he may not be consciously aware or which he may not be able to bring overtly to view, either of himself or another. Society owes to him, through the social worker, from this point of view, the help he truly needs, rather than merely the help he specifically asks. The social caseworker’s responsibility, therefore, extends to the discovery and treatment of this real need, imbedded in the totality of his personality and situation, when such a need actually exists and can be brought to light. These social workers are inclined to brand as “superficial” the functional worker’s concentration upon that part of the client’s life or problem with which he asks help, because they assume that this so-called “partialization” somehow denies or overlooks the unity and indivisibility of the total human organism. These workers, I think it is fair to say, are likely to feel that the applicant for social casework help has, on the whole, less capacity to accept responsibility for himself, less available strength, than the “functional” worker assumes from the beginning.

I think it is also fair to say, however, that the divergence on this point is becoming less pronounced; that there is ever widening recognition of the importance of dealing primarily with the social reality problems the client brings to notice, and of the significance of even the simplest movements and involvements of the client and services of the worker, in mobilizing the full strength of feeling and willing of the client in relation to his actual problem, whatever it may be. Parenthetically, one may add at this point that there has never been the slightest doubt in the mind of any “functional” worker that the individual who comes to a social agency for help with a particular problem, big or little—whether it seems primarily objective or deeply subjective in its character—never brings only a part of himself, leav-

⁴ See Gordon Hamilton, “The Underlying Philosophy of Case Work Today,” in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), p. 239.

ing the rest of himself at home. He brings his whole self and he uses that total self in dealing with this problem. In dealing with the client in this part of his life problem, the worker is in contact with the whole person, and what happens here affects not only a part, but the whole. Furthermore, in helping to relieve pressure or conflict at this point, she may be releasing energies and opening insights that reach far beyond this moment or this episode.

It is, perhaps, in the dominant concept of social casework practice as "treatment," rather than service, and in the different conception of the source of healing power in the "treatment" relationship, that this emphasis upon the "total organism" as the object of effort comes most clearly to realization. It appears in the emphasis upon diagnosis, and perhaps even more definitely in the importance assigned to a clear knowledge and understanding of the whole developmental history of the person and his problem, as a guide to "treatment."

In a recent article on "Marriage Counseling in a Family Agency" appears this clear formulation of this concept:

Experience has shown that successful treatment involves three distinct steps. The first step lies in defining the problem and accepting it with the client, whether it be in himself, his spouse, or in the situation around him. The second is the examination with the client of some of the conscious or near-conscious causes underneath the difficulty, thus creating awareness of the correction needed or the goal desired. The third is the actual re-education or re-training process with which the client needs the wise and patient help of the counselor.⁵

Again, in speaking of the worker's responsibility in casework treatment, a recent article declares:

Once the beginning diagnostic thinking is confirmed, the type of treatment must be determined. Will the treatment be directed to the emotional problems of the woman; will it be indirect but focused on her and related to her emotional problems; or will it be supportive help of an environmental nature? Here we must consider the capacities and needs of the individual client. How much insight does she show? What is the extent of her desire for help? What part do her husband and family play in the problem? How will the social situation aid or complicate treatment? What strengths does she have? How firmly rooted are her defenses? How easily does she relate to others? ⁶

⁵ Mabel Rasey, "Marriage Counseling in a Family Agency," *Family*, XXIV, No. 2 (April, 1943), 71.

⁶ Elsie Martens, "Case Work Treatment of Emotional Maladjustment in Marriage," *Family*, XXV, No. 8 (December, 1944), 299.

It is clear that the worker, armed with this understanding, is regarded as the vital source of help and of decision, rather than the client's own self, in his own use of this relationship experience. This tends to place responsibility upon the worker, not only for the relationship and helping process, but for the specific outcome of that process.

Clear-cut expression of this point of view appears frequently in the literature. For instance, in a recent article discussing certain aspects of the problem of child placement appears this clear statement:

Social workers, like physicians, must be prepared to reach a decision as to what will be best both for the baby and for the mother, and then to work actively toward the carrying out of that program. . . . Reaching a decision as to the future of each individual case that comes to her attention, and working toward the carrying out of that decision, implies great responsibility for the social worker. Training, experience, and intuition must combine in helping her to decide for each particular client whether separation from the baby is advisable.⁷

To a functional worker, this seems not only to be taking responsibility that belongs to another, which, in any event, that other person will certainly regain for himself; it seems to imply, most of all, lack of trust in immediate experience as carrying and expressing the whole self, and a lack of conviction about the capacity of the disciplined worker to fulfill his primary professional obligation, namely, to relate the helping process to these manifestations of the individual self as they appear in the present helping relationship.

The functional conception of the role and meaning of social casework as a serving and helping process, used by the client, rather than a treatment process, controlled by the worker, finds expression in another decisive and characteristic concept. The relationship within which this process eventuates is not simply and strictly a person-to-person relationship, like that which the client has known in all his other experience. A difference has been introduced which carries with it a new dynamic—a difference with which the individual must come to terms, must accept, and take into himself, if he is to find and use help. That difference is the agency which the worker represents, a fixed and stable structure, governing both worker and client in this relationship, presenting limits within which the worker operates

⁷ Florence Clothier, M.D., "Problems of Illegitimacy, as They Concern the Worker in the Field of Adoption," *Mental Hygiene*, XXV, No. 4 (October, 1941), 583.

and with and against which the client can measure and define his own need, his own will, and his own powers. The worker is not just another person, ready and willing and able to yield herself to any need and purpose that may emerge from the labyrinthine maze of confusing and conflicting interests and impulses of this other person, nor is she the arbitrary, though beneficent, arbiter among those impulses or censor of them, capable of imposing her own personal conditions upon the nature and extent of her service, in relation to the client's problem and need.

She is the representative of an agency, which itself is a part of the fixed social reality within which the client must find his own satisfying solution and ultimate adjustment. She is limited in the nature and extent of her help by the choice the agency has made among many possible services and methods of service and by the conditions which it has attached to its service. The individual worker may go or stay; the agency continues, with the same basic function and policy. In facing this new experience—in taking in this difference—the client faces the necessity to find a new focus for dealing with his problem; it demands of him some change, at least enough yielding of his individuality to become a part of a larger whole, while it still leaves his own integrity as a person intact. This is a new dynamic, which can reactivate and redirect the potential dynamic in the individual's self, for it introduces that firm barrier to the perfectly free and limitless play of all his conflicting wants and impulses which necessitates deliberation and responsible choice. This is the beginning of his effective use of a helping process.

It is clear that from this point of view, the decisive factor in the helping situation and in the helping process is the offering of a *new* experience for the client, in which and around which old patterns of thought and feeling and behavior—proved inadequate to the existing need—can be broken through sufficiently to afford a new start toward some personal and social reorganization. It is for that reason that the knowledge and skill of the worker are focused, not in the discovery or reliving of past experience, as a guide to understanding of the present predicament or its solution, but in the conduct of the helping process itself, in the creative use of agency function, through sensitive awareness and use of what the client reveals of himself and his need and his capacity to use agency help, here and now.

This contrasts, notably, with the worker's role as conceived by

those whose concept of social casework is differently oriented. Permeating this whole concept is the assignment of primary responsibility to the caseworker, individually, as the carrier of service and help. But there, too, the old divergence seems to be lessening, little by little. There is, I think, genuine appreciation among these social workers of the role of the agency, as the enabling mechanism by which the worker comes into contact with the client and by which the helping relationship may be sustained in time and place. There is, perhaps, also, recognition of the agency as a stabilizing, stimulating, force in the worker's own development and use of standards; and, again, as the connecting link between worker and community, the symbol of the community's sanction of the worker's undertaking. There is, I believe, also, a growing appreciation of the value to the worker—in the development of competency and grasp in the management of specific kinds of situation—which is to be found in a relatively clear, defined, and limited agency function and policy. But from the point of view of nonfunctional social casework, the specific dynamic represented by the agency—its psychological as well as its practical force in activating the client to enter into a new experience, to put himself into a new relationship and to mobilize his will to new effort—is minimized or disregarded.

Instead of relying upon the value of a new experience, and applying disciplined skill to the creation and fruitful use of this immediate experience, there is a tendency, from this point of view—reinforced by a deep-rooted faith in psychoanalytic practice and doctrine—to trust to the healing power of reliving and revealing to one's conscious self significant developmental experiences of the past, as the basis of change of attitude and feeling toward present relationships and experiences. It is partly for this reason, I think, that many of these caseworkers have found themselves unable sufficiently to trust their own unique process of helping in the present, immediate reality situation to be willing to differentiate it clearly from forms of so-called "deep therapy," or to devote themselves confidently and comfortably to the development and refinement of their own specific and limited functions.

There is one other generic principle of functional casework which differentiates it from that which governs the nonfunctional type of service. We have affirmed the dependence of professional practice and its development upon at least a potentially scientific base. What is

the nature of that scientific base of so-called "functional" casework? Since it is the process of helping, not the ultimate outcome, for which, from this point of view, the worker carries responsibility, it is the nature of that process, rather than absolute knowledge about people, either in the mass or in specific situations, that must be the principal subject of scientific analysis and generalization, as the foundation of professional competency. This process, as Miss Taft has well said, can be put under control and can be subjected to scientific "observation and generalization as any other living process, when the social worker is as ready to accept the conditions inherent in his role as is the laboratory scientist in biology."⁸ One of the essential controls for scientific analysis and generalization is in agency function, the fixed known focus of service, in relation to which the variables of individual practice and the diversities of specific problems can be examined and compared. Without such a stable center, from which the process itself emanates and by which it is limited and defined, there is no possibility of a truly scientific evaluation of the process, which is, from this point of view, the heart and core of professional competency. So long as the individual worker is not bound by any functional limits, no generalization about professional practice—as to scope, direction, quality, or method—is possible.

In contrast with this interpretation of the scientific core of social casework, as residing in a systematic comprehension of the "law of the process" of helping, is that which sees the advancement of knowledge about people and their social relations; the discovery of definitive and absolute causal relations, as the scientific base of professional development. This viewpoint is implicit in such a statement as that, for instance, which appears in a distinguished paper read at the National Conference of Social Work in 1941. In speaking of the same specific difference in social casework philosophy or practice which I am considering today, it was said that there can only be "schools of thought before conclusive scientific data are secured. As knowledge advances in a given area, speculation diminishes."⁹ In its context, this statement carries two significant implications. First, there is something absolute and final about the scientific truth which is to be sought as the basis of professional performance. Second,

⁸ Jessie Taft, in *Introduction to A Functional Approach to Family Casework*, ed. Jessie Taft (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), p. 5.

⁹ Hamilton, *loc. cit.*

there will and should come a time, therefore, when scientific truth will be available by which to predict what an individual will do in response to a particular stimulus—if enough can be known about the causal factors that have operated in his life—and that, therefore, it will be possible for the professional person to know “what not and how not to treat, as well as what and how to treat.”¹⁰

This is obviously related to the concept which places control of the outcome of helping, as well as the process itself, in the hands of the professional worker and attributes to the worker's special knowledge and skill, exercising specific control, the potent dynamic from which progress and achievement in the helping relationship must eventuate. It obviously places social scientific facts in the same relation to daily practice in social work as the sciences of anatomy, physiology, bacteriology, and chemistry may be said to have in relation to medicine, and for the same purpose, namely, to sharpen and strengthen the control of the practitioner over the objects to which his professional responsibility is addressed, that is, in social work, human beings in social relationships.

But to me, this purpose not only specifically contravenes the basic philosophy on which social casework rests, it also assumes, in human behavior and social relations, the same sort of mechanistic and deterministic causal relations as science has devoted itself to discovering in the physical universe. I affirm, on the contrary, that to be productively and truly scientific in spirit and method, social casework does not need—indeed, has no proper right—to apply slavishly the concepts derived either from this absolutistic natural science or from any other area of professional practice. It can and must make its own scientific contributions, by paying attention to its own unique subject matter, the helping process itself, and by observing in its own practice the essential controls and methods that can validate its own generalizations from its own experience in the use of that process.

These then, I should say, are the generic principles underlying the practice of social casework as I conceive it, in this year 1947: It is a helping process in the offering of a service, whose use and whose outcome are under the control of the recipient of help, not of the professional worker. The source of healing and helping power is in the individual recipient's own self—in his innate power to grow and change and selectively use experience to his own ends by exercise of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

his own will. The fundamental dynamic in the helping process in social casework—and its most characteristic differentiating factor—is in the social agency which the worker represents, in its definition and limitation of function and policy, by which the client is offered a new experience in yielding himself to a fixed social reality, while retaining his own integrity. The worker's skill is applied in the creative use of agency function, through a controlled relationship, with sensitive and flexible awareness of what the client is experiencing in the process and of the worker's own contribution to that experience. The scientific base of social casework is in the systematic understanding of the controlled and limited helping process itself, from which, in the light of analyzed and verified experience, valid generalizations emerge as to the likenesses and differences of process in the use of different functions. Finally, the philosophic base of social casework, permeating all these concepts, is the consistent, validated faith in the dynamic, creative power of individual human beings and their inherent, inalienable responsibility to choose and achieve their own destiny within the framework of a stable democratic society.

I have said earlier that there is a substantial area of agreement in social casework, not only with respect to certain venerable fundamentals, but also to some of the specific concepts that emerge from time to time in the creative and imaginative use and extension of basic ideas. I have affirmed, too, that the emergence of even vital differences is not necessarily dangerous, but rather, distinctly promising for the future of professional social work. I must close, however, with a note of warning.

It is not, and cannot be, a matter of indifference either to the individual or to the profession what choice is made among these alternatives, any more than it is a matter of no consequence to an individual client how he deals with the fixed factors affecting his own use of agency service and the conditions on which it is offered. Either choice, any choice, of basic concepts of professional practice involves giving up something of one's self, of one's own accustomed and comfortable patterns of thought and feeling and action. Especially, perhaps,—I am free to admit—does the functional point of view demand this kind of change. For the individual, the old personal freedom of professional purpose and performance, the old sense of individual power and achievement, must yield to the limits of a de-

finer and controlled function and to the realization that the determination of the outcome is within the power of another. This is not easy to accept and make truly one's own. It involves a discipline of the self which is probably unique among all professions, in its demands upon the worker, both in training and in later professional practice.

For the profession, it involves a yielding of a broad, vague, but thrilling responsibility for attempting to conquer all the social ills that may beset any human creature. It means rather the acceptance of the obligation to acquire and demonstrate steadily advancing competence in a limited, defined area of service, for which it can be held continually accountable. It means that this profession is not only content, but determined to be a part—only a part but a clearly distinguishable, responsible, and accountable part—in the great integral whole that is modern society, moving steadfastly forward to the fuller realization of a pervasive, dynamic, democratic life.

CHANGING TRENDS IN THE EDUCATION OF CASEWORKERS

By Esther H. Clemence

CASEWORK HAS ALWAYS BEEN SENSITIVE to the social, economic, and cultural setting, and has been influenced by the successive crises of two world wars and a severe depression. In spite of, and because of, the ensuing demands, it has been able to increase its knowledge and modify its methods. During critical times the focus must of necessity be on meeting the realities of the situation. The subjective factors are minimized or thrust aside. During the depression, masses of people had to be fed, clothed, and otherwise cared for in a minimum way, with little regard being given to many of their needs or, more particularly, to the emotional implications of those needs. During wartime, total mobilization of resources and energies toward a common goal with unremitting haste prevented consideration of inter- and intrapersonal problems.

The current social, economic, and cultural setting is a complex and changing one. Instability is evident in the conflict between labor and capital, in the rising cost of living, and in the discrepancy between consumer demand and supply. Migration from rural to metropolitan centers, inadequate housing conditions, and increased employment of women outside the home present their own problems. Traditional ideas, goals, and patterns of life are being undermined. Institutions such as the family are in a precarious position as reflected in the increase in marital conflict, separation, and divorce.

The impact of generally unstable conditions on the individual is manifested by the problems that are brought to our agencies. Let us consider a few.

The young veteran, anxious to avail himself of educational opportunities offered under the G.I. Bill of Rights, finds that his wife is pregnant and frantically asks for adoption of the expected baby. He can see no alternative to giving up the child. The wife, young

and fearful, hesitates to tell her parents of their situation because the child was conceived before marriage.

The parents of a fifteen-year-old boy, an only child, are concerned because of his failure in school and his rebellious and antagonistic behavior. His problems began over a year ago with the return of his father from a long period of overseas duty. During the husband's absence, the mother, a weak and indulgent person, had looked to the boy to play the father's role in the family.

A thirty-year-old mother of several young children, unable to manage on her husband's reduced wages, asks for care of her children so that she may work. The husband, whose status in the home is being threatened, insists that he will leave her should she proceed with her plans.

To meet these types of problem effectively the social caseworker must be cognizant of their objective and reality meanings. She must be even more alert to their inter- and intrapersonal implications. Human nature being what it is, these problems are in many ways but little different from the problems that have always been brought to the agencies. It is rather our awareness and understanding of them that have deepened.

A unique aspect of the situation is growing public awareness of, and familiarity with, psychiatric concepts and their implications. Novels, movies, and articles with psychological connotations have contributed to generalized interest and knowledge. Additional influence has been exerted by the widespread application of psychiatry in the armed forces. For these reasons, people as never before are actively seeking help with their emotional problems. Consequently, we are faced with unprecedented demands and overwhelming pressures for casework service. This is our opportunity to use constructively what we have and to expand our knowledge and to sharpen our skills in helping increased numbers. Where do we begin? We begin by inquiring, first, what is good casework, and secondly, how it is taught and how it is learned.

The actual quality of casework practice is the basis on which the whole profession rests. Good casework consists of an understanding of the dynamics of human behavior, the realities of the social and cultural environment, and a sound use of the client-worker relationship. It has assumed responsibility for helping the client exercise his personal strengths toward solving conflicts between his inner im-

pulses and his environment. The skill of the caseworker thus becomes of paramount importance. Trends in professional education to meet this level of skills are in the direction of improving, refining, and adding to the current body of content and method. It therefore becomes obvious that our profession is becoming more highly skilled, requiring more intensive preparation.

Because of the uniqueness of our profession, we find ourselves both in a dilemma and in an advantageous position. We are in a dilemma because we have no charted course. The advantageous position arises out of our flexibility in choosing pertinent material from allied fields. The field most nearly paralleling ours, and therefore most productive for training, is that of psychiatry and psychoanalysis.

Until quite recently we concentrated on diagnosis rather than treatment. It is essential for the caseworker to have a thorough and integrated knowledge of the psychodynamics of behavior. This includes a clear understanding of the normal physical and emotional development of the child during the various periods of growth. Equally important are the emotional disturbances that occur at periods when needs are not adequately met, or when frustrations and traumas are experienced. Neuroses and psychoses are studied in detail as to their symptoms and possible causative factors. Out of such an understanding evolves the worker's ability to evaluate the client's weaknesses, strengths, and capacity for adaptability and growth. In such an evaluation the question may revolve around whether the superego is so severe and rigid as to preclude the forming of a constructive identification with the worker. Another question might be raised as to whether anxiety and feelings of guilt are present to the degree that the individual wishes for change, or, on the other hand whether they are entirely lacking.

Equally important with the clarification of dynamics is the application of psychoanalytic concepts in casework. One of the most important and probably one of the least understood techniques is the use of the transference. A fundamental trend is toward making more effective the adaptation of the understanding and application of transference principles to the relationship of client and worker. It is generally accepted that the use of the transference depends on the personal qualifications of the worker. Primary among these qualifications is the self-knowledge that the worker has attained, together with her ability to use it objectively in helping the client. Within

the relationship area it is of the utmost importance that the worker first be aware of the depth of the client's dependency needs, and secondly, that in so far as possible, she control the depth of the transference. The purpose will be to obtain the most profit for the client within a relationship requiring the least possible dependency on his part.

Another fundamental trend concerns itself with the question of how and when to give interpretation. We are reminded of that period when caseworkers were dedicated to silence at any cost. Our words were measured if not actually withheld. They consisted chiefly of, "I understand," and "I know how you feel," the utterances themselves often denying the facts. This withholding stage was broken by the clients themselves in their demand for interpretation.

Assuming that the worker has reached a sound evaluation of the client's total problem, and of his capacity to use insight constructively, interpretation will follow naturally. In order to be meaningful to the client, it will necessarily deal with developing his self-awareness in terms of day-to-day manifestations of his feelings, attitudes, and reactions. For example, the worker has as a client a woman who has extremely hostile wishes toward her mother. To point out such hostility without relation to the immediate situation might lead to any number of destructive reactions. The worker therefore waits until such insight can be mobilized for constructive action. In this particular case such an opportunity occurred when the woman rationalized her hesitation to ask her wealthy mother for much needed financial help. With insight into the basis for her rationalization she was able to convert her useless frustration into constructive activity. The fact that she was able to ask for funds, not only furthered her emotional growth, but also met her reality needs.

Interpretation may be indicated when a client has a negative reaction toward the worker if the depth of the feeling is of such a degree as the worker can comfortably handle. An interpretation of the projected fear or guilt may enable the client to identify with the worker on a more constructive level.

Casework is an art as well as an acquisition of knowledge and skills, and certain aspects of it can only be transmitted through the individual in a unique way. Training in social casework is not an eclectic conglomeration of various disciplines, but rather a synthesized educational experience. Furthermore, training in casework is not a

static matter to be packaged off in the first year, or the second year, or even a third year. It is a continuing process of learning as long as the art is practiced professionally. Whereas what we are going to say may appear to relate more specifically to a particular level of development, it is equally applicable to advanced students and workers. Training for advanced students is but an extension of content, a deepening of understanding, and a refining of skills, while the integrative process progresses more smoothly and the development of a professional self becomes increasingly apparent.

In the beginning courses, emphasis is on helping the student to develop a dynamic way of thinking, together with attitudes which will be helpful in working with clients. Slowly, but inevitably, through the class process the student's prejudices and destructive attitudes are supplanted by patience, tolerance, flexibility, and self-discipline. Objectivity is understood and gradually used as an awareness of one's own subjectivity. To attain these ends an atmosphere is created in which the student is free to react spontaneously and honestly within himself and to his colleagues. This is achieved by the teacher's own acceptance of differences and through her ability to identify with individual and group expressions of ideas and feelings.

Cases for detailed study and evaluation are chosen from among those which fall within the student's own knowledge and experience, and which present relatively simple problems. As the grasp of fundamental concepts and approaches becomes secure, more complex cases are discussed. Cases are representative of all types of agencies in the field. General agency structure and characteristic activity or function are discussed, and the core of casework common to all is stressed. Concentration on the psychodynamics of the case is sound preparation for practice in any agency setting. It is true that particular, orienting knowledge about various agencies, such as medical, psychiatric, family, child placing, and public welfare services, is necessary. However, no matter how much orientation and special knowledge are learned in the class, there always remain certain facts and procedures that can be obtained only within the agency setting.

It is advantageous to analyze case records from four points of view. A record is first read in a natural, spontaneous manner for the "story." In the second reading the student consciously tries to put himself in the position of the client and attempts to understand the client's reactions to his environment and his emotional relationships. In the

third reading the student tries to identify with the worker. Finally, he takes into consideration the services offered by the agency in relation to the community which supports it.

Through presentation of theoretical material and pertinently related reading, focused on cases under discussion, such concepts as ambivalence, guilt, and resistance are learned. This can best be illustrated by the following simple case involving a children's hospital, a child-placing agency, and a family agency. A six-year-old rheumatic fever patient was ready for discharge from the hospital, providing good convalescent care was available. From her previous experience with the case, the hospital social worker was aware of the mother's failure to carry out specific medical recommendations. In making the referral to a child-placing agency for convalescent care the medical social worker was aware of the mother's ambivalence toward the child, but referral was the only alternative to readmission to the hospital. The mother's repeated failures to keep appointments with the child-placing worker, her constant reiterations that the child would be unhappy and would not remain in a foster home, together with guilt over her responsibility for the child's condition indicated that a successful foster home placement could not be made. It was obvious that the mother needed help to relinquish her child, and she accepted referral to a family agency for treatment. One of the mother's early experiences partially explained her attitude toward the child. The child's mother felt responsible for the death of one of her younger sisters who had been in her charge during their mother's absence from home. Treatment was directed toward resolving her displaced guilt over the child's condition. Satisfactory placement was eventually achieved because the various workers understood the meaning of the resistance and guilt.

The understanding of symptoms in terms of the importance of early experience in determining behavior is stressed. Diagnosis or causation of problems is considered both in the light of external reality and from the emotional point of view. The interrelationship of the two is constantly pointed up. An example may be seen in the following case. A thirty-eight-year-old bus driver applied to the family agency. His pay of sixty dollars a week was insufficient to support his wife and seven young children. Payment on debts and unusual medical expenses forced him to seek help. He vividly described the family tension caused by the fact that they were living in three

rooms. He complained of his wife's constant nagging, but admitted that she took good care of the children in spite of their circumstances. He himself was suffering from ulcers to the extent that he lost time from his job. He realized his own trigger temper and its effect on the children, to whom he was harsh and punitive out of proportion to their behavior. The disturbing realities of this situation were readily seen. The effect of earlier life experiences and the impact of the man's present environment with his resulting reactions to it had to be considered in diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment.

Realization of the worker-client relationship and some understanding of its use are gained. The student becomes aware that the worker's attitude is one of genuine warmth and concern for the client regardless of his behavior. He comprehends that the client's reaction to the worker is not a personal one, but rather a projection of his previously conditioned feelings and attitudes. He recognizes signs of fear, guilt, resistance, and degrees of dependency as manifested by the client. Gradually he understands the client's right of self-determination and the worker's own role in preserving it for him.

The meaning of these casework concepts and techniques is grasped intellectually in class and is integrated for use in supervised field work practice. It is natural that in the beginning the student is preoccupied with his own reactions to new and sometimes disturbing subject matter. Much of his time and energy is spent in becoming aware of himself and of his role with the client. Inevitably, the emphasis will be on developing a dynamic way of thinking about people, and a diagnostic point of view. He will be more or less self-conscious and intuitive in establishing relationships with clients, and can only tentatively begin to use these relationships constructively. Although anxious as to whether or not he will succeed in this new situation, the student is usually enthusiastic and eager to learn. He is relieved to know that his supervisor is aware of the gaps in his knowledge and his lack of skill. However, he is concerned over the somewhat unique role he must assume in the supervisory relationship in the way of taking on more responsibility for his own development than he has been accustomed to assume. His concern is further emphasized because his learning process is involved in the welfare of other people. The hurdle of his first interviews over, he is surprised and

gratified that his clients seem to like him and respond to his fumbling and often ill-advised attempts to be of assistance.

To illustrate this let us consider the reactions of a young student, daughter of a minister, during the early weeks of her first field placement in a family agency:

Thus far I have seen nine clients, and I already have a much better idea of social work and what is involved. Despite the sinking feeling in the pit of my stomach when we talked in class about our first words to our clients, and what we would say, to my amazement I have found it fairly easy in most cases to establish a natural, friendly relationship. Of course, during the first interview I was too frightened to remember what I said or how I said it, having the feeling that I talked too much, and said too little. That I may have wanted to forget was probably a factor. One of my first cases was a request for a homemaker, and in dealing with it I found within myself a rather typical reaction which bears some thought. My reaction to this woman and her story of need was a feeling that we must immediately help her, and I was resistant to any delay, even that involved in testing her need, how real it was, and whether homemaker service would meet that need in the best way. I felt impatient at what seemed to be delay and when I analyzed my impatience I realized that I had been exposed for many years to the idea that in order to help people one must immediately "act"—wash the dishes, bring in a cake, or at least give some "good" advice. Though intellectually I had accepted this new concept of helping the client utilize the strength within himself, this need to give and act immediately was still very much a part of me and something of which I must constantly be aware.

Now let us consider a report from a student who has had several more months of field experience:

The integration of my courses and reading with my field work is becoming increasingly clear to me. Generally, I know that the dynamic approach has become realistic to me, while in class it seemed remote. I find myself pricking up my ears when a client begins talking about his past relationship to a parent and start to look for the repercussions from this in his present adjustment. In the area of interviewing I can see more concrete learning trends. It is becoming clearer to me how much hinges upon the relationship between worker and client. Without a real relationship nothing the worker can say or do is going to have its desired effect. I think this relationship can be attained only by a positive interest in the client being felt by the worker and made evident to the client. In every interview the interest and concern must be focused upon the interviewee, not upon his children, his partner, or anyone else. This was very sharply brought to my attention in a simple discussion around planning menus. I remarked that certain foods would be good for the children, and my client quickly

added, "and they would be good for me, too . . ." At first I was very much inclined to decide what I thought would be best for my client and present this to him, expecting him to accept it and follow me along. The outcome, of course, was that the client was frightened away entirely, or else developed strong defenses against me and my suggestions. I am beginning to learn how to help the client to see what he actually wants for himself so that he will consequently present this to me, and I can then help him to reach out for it.

The integration and growth during the field work placement are furthered by the close association of the school with the supervisor and the student. One way in which this may be handled is illustrated by the following examples:

A student of superior intelligence whose academic record was excellent gave promise of successful performance in the field. Unusually attractive, outgoing, and easy in her relationships, she appeared more mature than her chronological age. When actually placed, however, although enthusiastic and eager to learn, she failed to get beneath the surface in her thinking about her cases and in her relationships with her clients. Attempts by the supervisor to help her met with inability to see the situation, or denial that she was having trouble. The faculty adviser in conference with both supervisor and student was able to see the student's bewilderment and confusion over feeling that more was expected of her by both the school and the agency than she was able to give. When the faculty adviser and supervisor together realized the student's level of growth and the student found acceptance by both she was free to proceed at her own pace.

In another situation let us consider an advanced student with several years of experience as a successful caseworker and administrator. Her theoretical grasp and her contributions to the class indicated exceptional ability. In the field, although she was performing adequately, her actual practice did not measure up to her apparent capacities. At first the supervisor, thinking that possibly the trouble lay in her adjustment to the student role, attempted to explore this with her. However, that did not seem to be the basis of the problem. Through conferences of both supervisor and student with the faculty adviser, it developed that the student's difficulty lay in the difference of tempo between her previous more active and direct role as an administrator and the therapeutic role of the worker-client relationship. In gaining a conscious understanding of her own feelings, together

with the ensuing release from frustration, she was able to work within the pace of clients more successfully, and on a deeper level.

From our discussion of good casework it is possible to see the trend toward extending our knowledge of psychodynamics, and its further application in helping the individual to relate more constructively to his environment. Whether this can be accomplished within the present two-year curriculum, in view of anticipated expansion in the other areas of content basic to social work education, is debatable.

Agencies may raise the question as to whether the schools are preparing workers adequately equipped to meet the current and future needs of the profession. In view of the widespread differences in development throughout professional practice today, a categorical answer cannot be given. The schools are aware that their average graduate is still in the learning process and will need the maximum opportunities for further growth if he is to develop to his fullest capacity. From the point of view of the schools, in many instances, the worker is pushed ahead into supervisory and administrative positions before he is ready. From the point of view of the agencies this is sometimes necessary because of pressures for a minimum coverage of all levels of position.

Some schools are considering the possibility of offering advanced training in casework practice. The practical problems involved in providing advanced content of this nature and opportunities for its supervised practice with the necessary analytic consultation are many. They would include selection of adequately equipped faculty for both teaching and supervision, field work placements offering such advanced practice, and development of criteria for the selection of candidates with potentialities worthy of the training investment.

One of the most urgent needs in the education of caseworkers is the training of well-qualified staff supervisors. Except for seminars, institutes, and brief courses sponsored by both schools and agencies, supervisors must learn by the trial-and-error method on the job. Further mutual agency and school responsibility might well be assumed and plans made to provide training for supervisors.

Such a training program might be considered as a graduate course for selected persons who have had qualified experience in the field.

In conclusion, it may be seen that people are turning to us in greater numbers with more specific demands for help with the psy-

chological implications of their reality needs. To meet these problems the trend in social work education is in the fusion of the knowledge of the realities of the social and cultural environment with a psychodynamic orientation. The degree to which we can meet this challenge will determine, not only the development of our professional future, but the effectiveness of the contribution which social work can make to this changing world.

INTEGRATION OF SUPERVISION WITH THE TOTAL PROGRAM OF THE AGENCY

By Esther Lazarus

SUPERVISION AND TOTAL PROGRAM cannot be separated enough to consider their integration; for inherent in this separation is the dangerous possibility that supervision and program may be opposed to each other. It is not even necessary to establish ways and means of integration, for supervision is the process through which the caseworker is enabled to carry out the program of the agency.

An agency program stems out of the acceptance by government of responsibility for certain services, or it may stem from a group of citizens who feel a responsibility to the community for certain services that should be available. An agency must define what services it will give. It must then clarify its focus and direction. What will be its chief concern in offering services? How will it offer them? This definition implies the necessity of making clear the agency's purpose and program to the person applying for service. He should know what the service is and what will be expected of him if he is to receive it. The next obligation of the agency is to be sure that the service reaches most effectively the persons for whom it is intended.

Unless the agency defines the kinds of service it offers and the conditions prerequisite to acceptance or rejection by the applicant, it may undermine the very strengths which its help is theoretically designed to build and sustain. It is necessary for an applicant to receive a simple and practical explanation that makes it possible for him to understand the agency's requirements as they apply to him. This explanation furnishes the basic means by which he can enter into an active, self-reliant relationship with the agency. The individual needs this definite understanding so that he can choose and plot his course with awareness of the possibilities of, and responsibility for, consequences. The agency has a responsibility for its requirements, policies, and standards, as they relate to the objective conditions under which the service may be obtained. Policy is used to bulwark agency purpose, but there must be assurance that the policy will allow re-

spect for the applicant as an individual, with all his unique feelings, ideas, and standards.

This definition of the agency's purpose, then, is not for the caseworker alone, but for the information and guidance of clients and the general public, and it assumes an accountability in the agency for fulfilling its purpose. The necessity for an informing, orienting purpose in casework is recognized in the principle of agency function. It is through the purpose of the agency as it is carried out in its function, through the policies that elaborate and define it, through the procedures that are set up to facilitate pursuit of it, that the client has a chance to find for himself, as he works with the caseworker, what he wants to do, how much effort he is willing to put forth to do it, and how far he wants to go with it. Since applicant and recipient know that the worker is bound by agency requirements and policies, they realize that they do not have to rely on the voluntary good will and judgment of another individual. The worker's use of the agency's definition of policy and procedure plays an indispensable part in this process, for policy and procedure keep the practical problem on which he and the client are working focused for both. It is through the worker's fidelity to the agency's purposes and to the agency's experience of sound methods that the client is enabled to keep hold of his own impulse to achieve mastery of himself and of his situation.

This relating of casework practice to an agency function requires a high degree of professional skill, combined with a sensitivity to the clients' needs and a self-discipline in meeting them. To bring about this knowledge and skill becomes the responsibility of the supervisor. The supervisory process must permeate the entire agency. It cannot be said that the person immediately responsible for the supervision of the worker is the only one responsible for this process. It must be equally true that the supervisor herself will be held related to the agency function, through its structure, policies, and procedures, as she is helping the worker relate to this same framework. In a large agency each person in charge of a division or section will likewise be held to operate in relation to the same basic purpose of the agency; that is, everyone in the agency must be oriented to the agency's method so that he can use it most effectively.

This orientation is necessary and important throughout the agency. For example, the Baltimore Department of Public Welfare offers four basic services: public assistance; foster care to children; protective

service to children in their own homes where neglect has been established; and service to promiscuous girls and prostitutes. Its Public Assistance Division administers the assistance program of the Social Security Act and a general assistance program. The Children's Division gives direct foster care to about eight hundred children. Its two protective services are fairly new. One was created by law in 1943, when children coming before the Circuit Court of Baltimore for Juvenile Cases, on a neglect or dependency charge, could either be dismissed or committed to the Department of Public Welfare. Although children may be permitted to remain in their own homes, the commitment carries with it the abridgment of parental rights. In the protective service this authority is accepted, and a service is offered to parents in behalf of their children. This service has more recently been extended to offer help to parents in cases where there is no commitment of the child, but where neglect has been established. The service is then predicated on the fact that the existence of neglect permits the agency to invoke the abridgment of parental rights and to hold the parents responsible for changing or modifying the situation so that the children may remain in their own homes.

The service to promiscuous girls and prostitutes was also created in 1943, under pressure from the Baltimore Venereal Disease Council. The Council, comprising the military and civilian agencies that were gathering their forces to repress and arrest prostitutes and to find and treat venereally infected men and women, urged that a service be set up to help the girl or woman who wanted to quit prostitution. The girls and women come to the agency either voluntarily, or on probation from the Criminal Court or from one of the Magistrates' Courts. This division also has responsibility for the casework service offered to men and women at the Rapid Treatment Center located in the Baltimore City Hospitals.

The agency takes responsibility for establishing the structure and framework in which each of these services can be given. This takes form in such simple things as stipulating that it will be assumed that individuals wanting the services will apply to the agency; that, having come to the agency, they will apply for a specific service. Within this structure there is flexibility, so that not only is it possible to go to a person's home to take his application, when he is physically unable to come to the office, but there is acceptance that in some services it is necessary that the agency actually reach out to the client. For

example, promiscuous girls and prostitutes do not easily seek the services of a social agency; it is necessary to give them as much help in coming as in holding them to their responsibility in accepting the service. On the other hand, it is equally important for the agency to be clear under what circumstances and for what purpose visits to homes or institutions are made.

Just as the agency must take responsibility for its structure, it must be equally sure that it is also responsible for some of the more complex and powerful psychological dynamics, once an application has been made. It must know that such a dynamic as time limits can and should relate to all services and that it must be the agency policy not to bind either client or agency eternally. In granting public assistance, the use of time has many important aspects. First, it is important that the applicant for assistance be seen promptly, and that he know how soon he will receive his grant. Further, in the Baltimore Department of Public Welfare, grants must be reviewed regularly. This time interval is a real security to the recipient in that he knows that his situation has been reviewed, and unless there are changes in his situation or in the agency's financial situation, he is reasonably sure that his grant will continue until the next review period. For the worker, this time limit is helpful, both in planning his work and in keeping him conscious of agency requirements. His supervisor and the supervisory line, all the way through the agency, must relate themselves to the time limit. This carries out the agency's accountability to its clients, as well as to the community supporting the program. On the other hand, while it is important that the person for whom public assistance is the only income available be assured of security, receipt of that income cannot and must not be accepted as endless in time. For some people it is equally important to look forward to the time when they will no longer need assistance, and it is just as necessary to be sensitive to the importance of this ending as it is absolutely necessary to be aware of all that is involved in accepting assistance.

This same use of the time limit may be traced in the framework established by the agency for all other services. In foster care the agency believes that before the child can move into long-time care, he and his parent must first test out for themselves what separation will mean. The length of temporary care is defined at time of placement and is used, not only as the dynamic, which permits parent and

child to choose whether they want to continue, but realistically by the agency as the time during which it becomes acquainted with the child and can find another home for him if that course should seem indicated.

In the instance of long-time care for children, the agency is giving consideration as to whether this, too, can be as timeless as it seems. What is involved for a child who remains in the care of an agency from early infancy to majority? This problem may involve our whole concept of child care and may necessitate an entirely different way of working with parents and with children. If a different approach does emerge, it will then be necessary for every person in the Children's Division—worker, supervisor, district supervisor, and division head—to be oriented to the new approach.

In working with parents who have neglected their children, a definite time limit is set within which the parents may decide for themselves whether they can or will change the situation for their children so that they may remain in the home, or whether it will be necessary to remove the children.

When children are committed to the agency, the court prescribes no time limit. Legally, these children could be wards of the agency until they attain their majority. Actually, however, the agency feels that no parents should accept the abridgment of their parental rights in such an endless fashion. The agency, therefore, takes responsibility for setting a time limit.

Similarly, in working with promiscuous girls and prostitutes who have been placed on probation for a definite period, the agency has found the time limit a powerful dynamic. If the girls have come voluntarily for help, this protective service decides on its own time limits as a way of working with the agency.

Each service works within time limits. Each person who is responsible at any level for seeing that the service is most effectively given must accept this use of the time limit.

There is a fundamental relationship between supervision and function and structure. Supervision is a process distinct from casework. It is through the supervisory process that the worker is helped to give the service of the agency. Supervisors have the responsibility of seeing that the job is done in the way defined by the agency. Supervision must always carry as its primary function the purpose of the agency to serve the client through competent job performance. In addition,

supervisors have the important responsibility of training workers. What must be taken into account is that supervision always operates within the framework of the particular agency. Supervision involves the worker's growth process, in which her will must become actively engaged in learning, so that she can yield the demands of her own needs to the necessities of new ways of operating in the casework relationship, within the limits of the agency. This process is stimulated by the supervisor in the conscious, responsible direction of her own activity in relation to the worker's learning process, and the agency's demand for quality of performance in the interest of clients. Supervision, however, cannot be undertaken with the end in mind of directly or indirectly affecting an adjustment of the worker's personal problems, but must be primarily concerned with the way the agency service is made available to its clients.

As casework depends on procedure, policies, and practices in relation to agency services, so supervision depends on the structural supports of administrative framework and formulations of agency expectations of its workers, in as concrete terms as possible. What are agency requirements in relation to dictation, statistical reports, use of forms, mechanical procedures, and those elements which constitute job organization? What amount and regularity of time are available for supervisory conference? It is around such concrete job requirements, limitations, and opportunities that the worker is able to find her relation to the agency, through her relationship with her supervisor, who must represent agency to her. It is through working on these matters together that they are able to achieve a definition of what actually is the worker's responsibility, and that the agency can know what it can trust to her ability to carry responsibly and what further responsibility she is ready to take at any given point.

In order that the supervisor may meet her responsibilities, she too must be held to working within the agency framework. Although the supervisor must herself carry a broader and deeper responsibility for the agency than is possible for the worker, she too must be able to drain off her own needs and revitalize her sense of agency. The agency must provide such channels. The dynamics in supervision are dependent upon the supportive structure in the agency. The supervisor must know with real conviction that the factors which she is considering and on which she is passing judgment are agency concepts and not her own personal standards. Each supervisor will have her own in-

dividual way of using and upholding agency formulations, but the framework must be there. Only through having such a base of operation can worker and supervisor come together. This also serves to define the limits of the supervisory responsibility, which can go only so far as the limits of the job, and cannot take in the worker's personal life or total personality or the supervisor's needs and ambitions.

How valid is all of this in student training? That is, in offering field work placements in an agency, does the agency remain similarly focused? I believe that it does. The agency must be able to offer students a program carefully geared to their level and to their capacity for development. This program must give opportunities for the best of their potentialities, but it can do this soundly only as it remains rooted in the established structure of the agency. The agency's responsibility for service to clients is the primary consideration in any training plan, entering into the choice of areas where students will work and the selection of cases which they will handle. Responsibility for service also determines the focus in evaluating field work accomplishment; for student performance must meet the requirement of carrying out the agency's function and cannot be judged entirely by what the student gains from the learning experience. The field work experience must be an integral part of the agency job carried out by agency standards of casework practice. The part which supervision plays in field work training grows out of its place in agency operation. Since the experience of supervision takes place in the agency setting and is itself a part of what is happening there, the supervisor does not shape the conditions under which the student works. The student's training in field work practice, then, consists of learning to use the reality of the situation he finds in the agency. If he is to use it constructively, he must have support from his supervisor, which he can get only as the supervisor feels secure in relation to her place in the agency. Help for the student is to be found, not in the relation with the supervisor alone, but in supervision as an instrument of the agency. What the agency offers for the student's use in learning to do casework is the structure which it has built up to carry out its particular function.

Under a work-study plan in the Baltimore Department of Public Welfare, we have students from four schools of social work. Field work placements are offered in all services of the agency. The case loads are the same and the supervision is the same regardless of the particular school involved. The way in which the agency offers the

service remains the constant. The greater the degree to which school and field work experience are related, the greater the clarity of the responsibility of each in the student's training. If school and agency are not related closely enough, the supervisor finds that she must carry a greater degree of responsibility for training, but the intent and purpose of supervision do not vary. Always the agency's purpose, plan, and procedures enable the supervisor to set the limits for the student's activity, and the agency's standards of practice aid her in determining what is expected of him in performance.

Perhaps everyone would agree that there is no place for caprice in social work. On the other hand, the charge might be made that there is no place for individual expression, freedom, or creativeness in an agency where the body of practice is well defined and prescribed. To an extent, this is true. Where a functional approach is the dynamic, directing force, the individual worker or supervisor is not free to operate as he wills. Supervision must carry forth the program of the agency within the limits defined. The need for policy and regulation has been accepted in the administration of public assistance. I am convinced that it is equally essential in offering any service.

The Children's Division of the Baltimore Department of Public Welfare limits the amount that may be spent for a child's lunch, whenever it is necessary for a worker and a child to lunch together. This is a simple policy based on reality. The problem that this created for the worker, what that problem involved, and how the supervisor met the situation are vividly brought out in the following:

When I discussed with Miss J. the agency's limit of forty cents for lunch for a foster child, she had considerable difficulty in accepting it. This was discussed on the basis of her first experience, when she had encouraged a child to order a substantial hot lunch costing sixty-five cents. She was able to move on to thinking of providing a satisfactory lunch, consisting of a sandwich, drink, and dessert, in order to keep within the agency amount and still not have the child hungry.

Later, Miss J. wrote me that in her experience it was necessary to spend more than the allotted forty cents. She mentioned a place to which she had taken one of the children. He had a ham sandwich at twenty-five cents and a milk shake at twenty-five cents. She thought that as simple a lunch as a child could be expected to eat. She pointed out the rising cost of food and implied that I might be able to get the allowance increased by five or ten cents.

At the next conference the question of lunches was not raised, and Miss J. was apparently ready to leave when I mentioned her note. She at-

tempted to brush it aside. I ventured that she did not want to discuss it and perhaps regretted having written me. Her silence seemed to confirm this, and I added that she was apparently having difficulty with the problem and, if so, this was the place to bring it out. With this came all her feeling about how impractical she had found the policy and her struggle to keep within the forty-cent limit. She told of her experiences with various children, the places she had tried, what she had ordered for them and the prices, and ended with saying that it had just been impossible and she felt the policy should be changed and the amount increased.

I maintained that forty cents was what we had to work with at present. I knew it was hard for her to keep within the limit, but I did not believe it was impossible. I wondered if it was not so much a question of an inadequate amount, but her use of it. She challenged me on this, and I mentioned specific items, such as milk shakes at a quarter, when chocolate milk could be had for a dime; and did a child know the difference between Virginia baked ham and regular ham, or appreciate lunching where prices were high? The sandwiches she could see, but country children never get milk shakes, and they love them so and look forward to getting them when they come to the city. . . . She was quick to tell me she had charged the agency only forty cents on her expense account and paid the difference herself each time. When I held that this was an actual violation of agency policy, it surprised her, but she could see the problems she might be creating for the child and the next worker.

I asked Miss J. if she really thought any child would starve to death on a forty-cent lunch before she got him back to his foster home. Miss J. smiled and said of course not. I thought maybe she found it hard to say "no" to a child. She readily agreed to this. I said that we all do, yet, children, like adults, must learn that there are limits in life. Was she going to help a child live with this fact, or encourage him to fight it?

I said that perhaps she was trying to impose her own standards on the children, and related this to the simple foster homes. Did she think the foster parents could pay more than forty cents for their lunches when the children are with them? Will the children be able to maintain the standards she is setting up for them after they leave care or begin to support themselves? Miss J. was frank in saying that she had not seen this before. Now she realized that she could not make up for everything the children had missed in life by giving them whatever they might want for lunch, regardless of price.

This conference material could be used to sharpen up many facets in the supervisory process. Above all, it seems to show clearly that supervision is the process through which the agency enables its workers to carry out its program. I certainly do not want to minimize the importance of, and need for, sound policy, nor the difficulties involved in operating with a restrictive policy. Likewise, there is no

denial of the important part the worker plays in helping bring about policy change. This is a whole process in itself.

That supervision can be a creative experience and does not limit the development of skill and understanding was vividly described by two students in the same agency. One, in acquiring some sense of the relation of function to the casework process, stated that, "it is as if a good caseworker has to be like a violin string which sounds at the slightest touch but becomes useless if it is detached from the violin body." The other student also saw similarities in what is involved for the artist and the caseworker. As he put it, accepting the rightness of working within agency structure is similar to learning to play the piano. "Only as the pianist masters what Chopin wrote and intended does he have a true opportunity to play it creatively." Clear policy, sound structure, and well-defined function are to social work what the work of the master is to the musician.

Supervision carries the responsibility for helping workers to give service soundly and skillfully. The supervisor must know and be related to the work of the agency, its basic purpose and philosophy, and be able to help the worker to know this, so that he can use the agency structure to offer help creatively. Only thus can the agency fulfill its responsibility to clients, worker, and community.

CASEWORK SERVICES IN PUBLIC WELFARE

By Helen Harris Perlman

WHY IS IT THAT THIS SUBJECT RECURS with such unfailing regularity? Is there some unresolved doubt that remains in us, making us question what we yet want to believe? Are we gnawed by uncertainties as to whether casework services in public welfare are necessary? Or desirable? Or feasible? And to quiet our doubts do we want to acclaim loudly that they are necessary, they are desirable, they are basic to public welfare? Or is it that in the daily struggle with time limits, energy limits, administrative and statutory limits, we become so strangled and wearied that, like the giant Antaeus wrestling with Hercules, we need to touch ground again to be renourished and re-empowered—and for us, this ground is the formulation and restatement of our purposes and methods? Or is it that for all that we talk of casework services we actually do not mean the same things by the same terms, or are not truly clear as to what we do mean? Is it possible that what we refer to as casework service is not the same as the thoughts we have about it?

Casework is, as the semanticists would say, a "loaded" word. It is loaded with emotions which range from the devotional faith of some of its practitioners to the caustic agnosticism of some of its detractors; it is loaded with motley inferences as to its purposes; it is equated with "therapy," it is equated with "social work"; an agency is said to "do casework" and it is said to "have casework services, such as nutrition planning and housing advice." Small wonder that we strive repetitiously to define what we do or have, or should do or have, of casework in public welfare.

The problem may lie in semantics. It may lie in our doubt as to whether casework services are desirable or feasible in public welfare programs. It may lie in our need to step away from the urgencies of the job, to get perspective on it, to test it against the touchstone of basic principles. For any and all of these reasons, "casework services in public welfare" demand definition. We need to know what is the

purpose of public welfare; to know what is casework and what is casework service; and then to ask whether casework is useful in public welfare agencies.

A public welfare program grows out of organized society's concern that it maintain its equilibrium and cohesion. In a democratically organized society it is assumed that the mesh of society is only as strong as its individual links, that each individual should have certain inalienable rights as a human being in order to ensure the common good. John Dewey, philosopher of democracy, has put it this way:

The foundation of democracy is faith in the capacities of human nature; faith in human intelligence and in the power of pooled and coöperative experience. It is not a belief that these things are complete, but that if given a show they will grow. . . . The very fact of material and psychological inequality is all the more reason for our establishment by law of equality of opportunity . . .¹

The public welfare agency is an outgrowth of the "establishment by law of equality of opportunity." It is called a "social" agency—whether its specific program is child welfare, economic assistance, or care of the handicapped—because it aims to prevent the breakdown of functioning or to promote the more effective functioning of an individual in his interrelationships with his fellow men and with society's institutions. To carry out this responsibility to the men, women, and children whose normal social resources have broken down or have not been provided, public welfare agencies offer substitute or alternate forms of attaining a modicum of adjustment. These are as varied as money grants, home-finding for neglected children or for the aged, provision for convalescent care, vocational training opportunities, care of the mentally ill, counseling on household and debt management—the list covers a whole range of services developed to weave together the torn threads in the fabric of human life needs. They are social services. Social casework is a way by which such services may be administered. The service may be as concrete as a money grant to maintain a minimum of health and decent living; it may be as intangible as guidance in dealing with a child's behavior. Casework is a method of giving this social service.

Before we can say whether casework is useful or desirable, we must consider what are the elements or characteristics of this method.

¹ "The Democratic Form" an excerpt from "Democracy and Educational Administration" in *John Dewey's Philosophy*, Modern Library ed., p. 400.

Casework is a process which has its life germ in a philosophy; which has been nurtured by, and has in turn produced, a sturdy body of knowledge; and which, out of its germ and nurture has developed certain skills in helping people to cope with their social situations. The philosophy that produced casework is that same philosophy that produced democracy. It affirms the essential worth of every human being; it is predicated upon the belief that there are untapped powers and strengths in people which may be released for individual and social good; it faces the fact that men are not created equal, and that society must provide, therefore, equality of opportunity to compensate for the inequalities men face at their very birth; it asserts that it is the right of every man to lead a satisfying and socially effective life.

This is a fine philosophy, perhaps too fine. It slips off the tongue readily—and perhaps slips into oblivion as readily. Its test lies in whether it is spelled out in cross-stitch and hung on the wall, or whether it is lived out in action by the caseworker. We speak of social work as being a profession. The birth of a professional person is at that moment when he is able, not merely to state what he professes to believe and know, but to incorporate it, to feel it deeply part of him, and thus to act upon it.

Casework in family agencies, in institutions, in clinics, in public assistance, in child welfare, begins with the caseworker's impassioned believing in this philosophy. It will translate itself into action in a myriad ways. It will affect the way we look at a man or woman or child—whether our eyes take him in as that gray whole which is an "applicant," or whether they seek to discern his difference from others, to perceive his special self. It will determine how we feel toward him—whether we are secretly contemptuous of his failure, impatient with his fault, or whether we respect his individuality and lend ourselves to understanding his pain and struggle. It will affect whether we carry through prescribed routines, or seek for ways of releasing this person's powers, and search for opportunities to enrich his living. It will determine whether, as caseworkers or supervisors or administrators, we will be content with inadequate relief budgets which lower man's vitality and self-esteem, with anachronistic routines which hold only frustrations for the client, or whether we use every means at our command to make public welfare service a synonym for opportunity. And it is the deep belief in man's dignity and

worth that will thrust us forward to seeking further knowledge of man himself and of how to help him. Without this philosophy all the specialized services or technical trappings that can be devised are empty. Imbued with it and the attitudes that flower from it, the worker in the public welfare agency is already in part operating by the casework method.

The body of knowledge upon which casework is based and to which casework has brilliantly contributed is broad, and its depths are not yet plumbed. It is a knowledge of the society in which we live, its frustrations and its rewards, its poverties and its abundances, the conflicts and the paradoxes in those forms and forces which victimize men and those which seek to restore him to his rightful stature. It is a knowledge, too, of us who live within that society and of how we are enabled or disabled in dealing with everyday problems of living. It is a knowledge of the subtle complexities of the commonplace things of life, of the deep meaning that small things have; for life is made up of very little things, and it is the emotion which they stir in us that causes them to destroy us or enhance us.

When a worker knows these things understandingly and feelingly, she has embarked upon individualizing people, upon recognizing that like situations may have very different meanings for different persons; and she knows that to help them use what the agency is empowered to give them, or to use any opportunity, their feelings and reactions must be taken into account. There is the meaning of work, for example. Work is a way by which to earn money. The pay envelope is rewarding, or it is a blunt denial of one's worth. Work is a way of utilizing physical and mental energies, engrossing and satisfying, or it sucks up energy and obliterates personality. It has status, or it is looked upon with indifference, if not contempt. The caseworker knows that the wish to get a job and to hold a job is compounded of all these considerations. And the caseworker understands the meaning of something as simple as food. It is a way of satisfying hunger. But food has great emotional coloring, too, for human beings. The chocolate sundae on a depressing day is a way of making up to ourselves, not for physical hunger, but for emotional hunger. The woman who ingeniously produces a casserole of leftovers and meets with her family's admiration is richly rewarded. But for the woman whose efforts to manage meet with the complaints of a variety-starved family, the casserole is the very symbol of desperation. Caseworkers know

the emotional meaning of housing that is indecently overcrowded and underequipped. Of course, the newspapers carry the statistics every day—so many thousand veterans without houses, hundreds of families living in condemned buildings—but, as Arthur Koestler has said, “statistics don’t bleed.” Case workers know the feelings of the adolescent whose home consists of bedrooms only, and who, perforce, moves to the street for his social life. We know the utter frustration and loss of integrity of parents who have no corner they can call their own, whose talk together, whether of grocery bills or of their feelings for one another, is always before an audience.

A room of one’s own, a little money of one’s own, a little leeway for one’s desires, a sense of being recognized as worth while, a sense of being loved—these are the small things that every human being seeks, and it is the knowledge of these small things, and how they create and affect people’s feelings, which is part of casework’s special knowledge.

There is an important corollary knowledge, and that is that people act the way they do because of the way they feel. They rationalize what they do; that is, they justify it with reason, but the motivation, the driving power, lies in their feeling. To understand this is to know that the person who comes to a public welfare agency is not simply a “client.” He is a person who is a parent, a spouse, a child, a worker, a club member, a citizen of a community. He has feelings about each of his roles: satisfactions in some, frustrations in others; resources for some of his needs, emptiness for others. The fact of his seeking the resources of a public welfare agency is fraught with meaning for him. He sees it as a help or a threat, as a place where his rights will be upheld or will be taken from him, and his feelings about himself and his having to turn to the agency will determine how he will act at the point of application and thereafter.

As the public welfare worker lends himself to understanding these feelings, he takes another important step in the casework process. He knows that for the person involved there is no such thing as a routine procedure, “a mere formality.” It may be routine for the agency; but each client experiences it freshly and sharply, and sees it in the light of his own feelings. A budget may look like a mathematical computation to the budget-maker. To the person who must live with it, it is an emotional experience. It is a strait-jacket, it is a restriction of freedom, it is an absurdity; or, it is a kind of guide, a challenge to ingenuity.

Public welfare agencies are set up to provide and implement services and opportunities which elsewhere in the social structure have been denied. Our knowledge of human beings tells us that people perceive these rights and services, not only with their eyes and ears and heads, but with their feelings, their muscles and hearts and stomachs. To understand this thoroughly, to know that what happens to people affects the way they feel, and to know that the ways that people feel will determine what they do, is to stand squarely upon the threshold of the casework process.

Social casework helps a person to want to use effectively the resources available to him, that is, to reach out for, and engage himself with, the means by which his social and emotional needs can be met. These resources lie in part in him—his physical, intellectual, and social capacities—and in part in his environment—in his family and friends, his school or work, his church or social groups, and in the special services of the social agency. This enabling process begins, not only with knowing the person's problem, but with knowing how he feels about it. It proceeds by helping him to express and release those feelings. He is given the assurance that his feelings are understood and accepted. He is led to view them in the light of how they may block or promote the resolution of his problem. He is encouraged to weigh and choose for himself his line of action.

A father asks to place his children since he cannot support them adequately and they have grown completely unmanageable since his wife's death. The public welfare program may offer foster home care, institutional care, homemaker services, support for the children in their own home. It is the casework process which approaches this, not as a "placement problem," but as a conflict of feelings in a father about his wish and capacity to care for his children. Only as he is helped to express and know his feelings, to weigh and consider them and their consequences, and as they are viewed in the safe light of the worker's understanding support, is he made free to exercise his right to choose what service he will use.

A letter comes in the morning mail: "I'm a sick unmarried woman and I was 65 years old last week. Please send me my pension." It is casework knowledge that conjures up the image of the person behind this letter, that recognizes that she is misinformed and that she will feel cheated of her rights or unhappily humbled on learning that she must prove her need. It is a simple situation, yet it needs the case-

work process to help this particular person move from her disappointment or anger to engaging in the coöperative venture of establishing eligibility.

To recapitulate, then, we see that casework is a way of giving an agency's social services. It is not a superstructure placed as the top layer on stratified services. It is indigenous to public welfare. It grows out of the identical philosophy as that which creates public welfare services. Its knowledge is a knowledge of what promotes or destroys well-being, of the titanic struggle in people to fill the vacuums in their life situations, to taste some satisfactions, to feel secure, to be considered adequate. It is a knowledge that when people find themselves in situations with which they can no longer deal, all their feelings of fear, inadequacy, and helplessness rise up to block or overwhelm them. Its method simply puts this philosophy and knowledge into action: it attempts to release the individual's own powers to feel, to think, to act, and to use the services and opportunities which are rightfully his.

Closest in nature and purpose to the public welfare program we are developing is the public education program which has long been in operation. Originally, our public schools were established to teach the three "R's," that is, to provide the basic necessities to social communication. The child was exposed to these. If he was capable enough to grasp them, all was well. If he could not or would not, he was scolded, whipped, expelled from school as a pariah. In the course of experience it began to be recognized that the child was not at all an empty vessel to be crammed with knowledge. Rather he was a unique personality with certain talents or handicaps, certain interests or indifferences, and with many feelings about himself, his teachers, and his learning. Two things happened as the result of this awareness. The subjects which schools began to develop in their curricula became more varied, more related to the child's capacities and experience. In other words, the educational program was developed and diversified to meet children's life needs. It began to be recognized that pedagogy was of tremendous importance, that it was children who were being taught, not subject matter, and that, therefore, how children were helped to learn would determine how well they learned and used their learning. In other words, it came to be affirmed that schools were for children, that children needed to learn many things other than the three "R's" to enrich their living, and that to educate

meant "to lead out," to draw out the child's interest, energy, capacity to reach for learning and make it his own. Therefore, professional schools of education began to help teachers to understand the child as a thinking and feeling person and to train them to use such methods as would enable the child to want to learn.

It is true that in education, as in public welfare, the ideal is yet to be achieved. There are still poorly trained teachers; there are still teachers who lack the personal capacity to understand children; there are poverty-stricken schools with scarcely enough money for textbooks, much less for drawing paper and crayons; there are systems where administrative routines, attendance check-ups, fire drills, classroom records, curriculum timing, crowd out all recognition of the fact that these are living children who are being counted, drilled, taught. There are communities which are quite blind to the intellectual and social needs of their own children.

These difficulties sound familiar to the public welfare worker. Yet it would seem all but ludicrous to us as laymen in school matters, and certainly to teachers and school administrators, if one asked, "Is a knowledge of methods of teaching, of ways of relating to the individual child's learning and social needs desirable or feasible in a public educational system? Is an understanding of children and the schools' resources plus pedagogy necessary in public schools?" The purpose of education is the answer. The question might yet be asked, "Is good teaching possible with all the difficulties that beset us?" The answer to this would have to be that by these difficulties good teaching is pitifully hampered and that therefore educational purpose may be defeated. And we would agree that this answer opened rather than closed a burning issue.

Is it this same question which creates our conflict in public welfare? Is it that while we can affirm that the casework method is to public welfare what pedagogy is to education, that it is the way by which social services can most effectively be transmitted, we question whether it can be carried out in the face of the many obstacles that confront administrators and workers?

There is no denying these obstacles. There are case loads so large that an applicant is literally goose-stepped through to establishing eligibility for relief or service, and is then left to flounder with the problem of how to use or manage that service. That the service is not given in a casework way is but a corollary to the major problem: it is

not given with recognition of this individual human being's practical and emotional problems. There are budgets so low, money grants so inadequate, that they mock the basic needs of human beings. All the understanding, the compassion, the ingenuity which casework knowledge and method can summon will not hush the fact that people's health, peace of mind, and ability to plan and act are constricted when their basic economic welfare is denied. There are administrative procedures and interpretations so narrowly construed and rigidly applied that they block rather than channelize the agency's service to the client. It is not important that they thwart the casework process; it is important that rather than make them readily available, they cut off welfare service from the people who need them.

But these obstacles are not irrevocable or immutable. They are man-made and may be undone. The weapons social workers carry are humble ones—notebooks and stubby pencils. But if we have sharp, clear thinking and strong conviction we are girded with a sword that can cut through tape, or bottlenecks, or frames of mind. Our thinking and conviction must be sharpened against Emerson's whetstone. "The end," said Emerson, "pre-exists in the means." Our immediate end is to give such welfare services as are needed in order to bulwark individual and family life, so that adults may live and children may grow up sturdy in body and spirit, ready to take on work, marriage, parenthood, and civic responsibility. From first to last, from administrator to clerical worker, from intake to closing, from written rulings to their application, the means must consistently exemplify and demonstrate this end. As this occurs, the individual coming to the public welfare agency will know himself to be respected, will find that he himself as well as his dilemma is understood, will discover that there are persons who believe in his possibilities, and that there are services which he can use to promote his better living. Social casework by its philosophy, its knowledge, its method, is one of the means by which the public welfare agency seeks to express in action its end, which is human well-being. This must shape our thinking and forge our conviction into a weapon for action.

COUNSELING IN THE FAMILY AGENCY

By Frances T. Levinson

IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT THE LAST FIVE YEARS have seen a clear emergence of counseling as the basic function of the family agency and that this same period of time covers the history of charging fees for family casework service. For it is in an examination of the dynamic influence of each of these on the other that we understand the role of the family agency today.

Fee charging did not come about as a separate development unrelated to the core of the family agency's function. It came about as a logical outgrowth of increased professional understanding and knowledge, a willingness on the part of practitioners to struggle with the refinement of their skills, the assumption by governmental agencies of responsibility for the maintenance needs of the community, and the agencies' faith that casework help need no longer be confined to the economically destitute but should take its accepted place in the total community to protect and preserve family life. Traditionally, the function of the family agency has been to help with familial inter-relationships so that individuals could fulfill their roles within the family and outside the family in a way which enriched family life and enabled it to be a good emotional environment for its members. Our broad function has not changed. Our way of carrying out our function has undergone vast change and hopefully will continue to do so.

Fee charging in the family agency came about when casework in practice had developed a skill which might be needed by anyone, when it was no longer dependent for its helpfulness on the administration of concrete services, such as maintenance relief or meeting financial emergencies. This skill we have begun to call "counseling." Further defined, it is the psychological help which we give people in working out their everyday relationships and in helping them change their way of handling the problems which block their ability to use their own resources or the community's benefits advantageously.

Fee charging presented a way of extending the use of this skill to the total community. It was one thing to develop professional prac-

tice, to define its usefulness to anyone regardless of economic circumstances, education, and social status; it was another to enable people to use this service when they needed it. The problem with which family agencies were faced was that we were identified with our traditional function of relief giving, and our newer function—family counseling—was unknown.

This identification of the family agency with only its tangible services is understandable. The profession itself had quite a time recognizing and acknowledging that casework had a discipline which rested on a philosophy and methodology of its own. Until the profession dared to take responsibility for its practice, to define its separateness from any other kind of psychological help, we could not expect the community to understand clearly what we were doing or know when to use us. We had to continue as agencies whose function it was either to make up for the inadequacies of all agencies, or to render the same service as other agencies—sometimes more skillfully, sometimes less.

We learned much from that experience. But if the private family agency is to free itself to be the research laboratory that will enable it to make its greatest contribution, it has to let go of functions which no longer belong to it, as well as to develop new skills for the functions which do belong to it.

The function of an agency is not a unilateral decision. It is based upon the needs of a community, the skill and capacity of specific agencies to meet these needs, the wisdom and foresightedness of the community's social planners. In our society the private agency has the responsibility for being in the vanguard. Its function has been to recognize and work with unmet needs and new problems, to develop technical skills for meeting these problems, and to educate the community about the service that meets the problem. Whenever the private agency has done a good job in its practice and in the education of the community, the community has then rightfully demanded the resource on a mass basis. In this is the history of the child welfare program, unemployment relief, vocational rehabilitation programs, and so forth.

We have not learned, however, to capitalize completely on our freedom to open up new areas of helpfulness. There is an apparent paradox between our desire to develop new services and our inability to let new agencies carry their delegated responsibilities. We clamor for good public relief agencies to take over the maintenance needs of

the community, but we are not quite ready to give up our relief role and let the public agencies meet the problems for which they were set up. Our dilemma has been the peculiar one of developing skill, of understanding what we were doing, and knowing our value, but being afraid to say that we possessed all this. We learned how to help people with marital difficulties, but we depended upon the client's need for relief to bring him to the agency, and we used the fact that we were administering relief as permission to help with his marital problems. We helped people who were emotionally unemployable become employable, but again we depended upon the need for relief to bring the applicant to us. Since the profession of social work has one of the most responsible and experimental groups of practitioners, we eventually realized that we were projecting on to relief giving the carrying power for our skill. We also became aware of the consequent confusion created for the client. In the examination of this we started to extract what was generic in our helping process so that we could say that this part is applicable to anyone who is trying to change his marital relationship; this kind of enabling process is true for anyone who needs help in going to a psychiatrist; this much we know of the process of helping a young adult separate from a parent without destroying the relationship. It was when we were able to affirm for ourselves that our helpfulness was controlled by what we knew and the client's ability to use it, and not by the client's economic situation, that we could start thinking of how to enlarge the group who used our service. In other words, we began to be more responsible; for there is something irresponsible in having a service which we know can be helpful to a total community and then, in effect, saying to that community: We will do nothing to help you understand or accept this service; we will, in fact, insist that you guess at the existence of the service; and, in addition, if you do discover it, we will strip you of whatever security you may have as a result of being self-supporting and take from you whatever power may accrue to you by paying for what you get. It was a strange contradiction, and actually we were working against ourselves. For casework helpfulness is built on preserving the individual's strength. It is built on finding in the client something for which he is willing to fight, and yet we made it as hard as possible for him to approach the agency and insisted upon his coming in a weaker position than even reality demanded.

It was in our effort to eliminate this unnecessary burden of taking something for nothing that we developed the practice of charging for service when the client could afford to pay. Because this was a social agency, the charge was determined by a scale which was controlled by the client's income. We thought we were charging for service to enable the individual client to come more easily. In actual experience, the profession and the community were equal gainers. We could not just stop with telling ourselves that we were engaged in extending casework service and charging fees, and expect anything to happen. We had to tell people. And we could not just tell people we were charging fees. We had to tell them about the service for which we were charging. And so we learned how to talk about the counseling service of the family agency and to find out for ourselves how to discuss its greatest values.

In the past, social agencies had been interpreted primarily by the fund-raising group. This group had interpreted us through the pitiful situations of the economically underprivileged in which dramatic cures were accomplished. In family counseling the situations are not pitiful in terms of deprivation, and the cures are not dramatic in obvious terms. The problem may be one which will eventually destroy the happiness of a whole family, but until the problem does destroy the family, the drama is visible only to the family, and sometimes not even to them. We were faced with the need to educate the community to a whole new way of thinking about us. We wanted people to know that our profession had an organized body of knowledge on family living, and then know that we had practitioners whose function it was to enable individuals to profit by the use of that knowledge.

We found that both these facts were unknown to most people. The closest people have come to thinking in terms of an accumulated body of knowledge on family living lies in the knowledge gathered by wise people through living. The transmission of this experience they see as giving advice. Making casework a purchasable commodity has probably been the greatest stimulus in the extension of its use by new groups. It has made it possible for an individual to listen to a description of our service and then to identify himself as a person who needs help. We all know the lengths to which people will go to avoid acknowledging a problem because of the fear of being considered inadequate. We have all worked with the effects of conscious and unconscious resistance to taking help and seen the devastation

which has taken place because people need to hide and deny their problems until their problems are their masters.

Our concern has been with helping people know that it is not a symbol of inadequacy to come for help, but that it is irresponsible not to seek help when a problem is likely to enmesh the whole family in a destructive situation. Helping people to use family counseling is a straight community education job. It means instilling the thought that nothing in a family situation is static; that if a problem affects two people, it soon has its tentacles on all the other relationships in the family. Family relationships cannot be departmentalized. Parents cannot have a difficult relationship with each other without its influencing their relationships with their children. But we have not learned how to help people understand that they cannot shut the doors on feelings and not have them leak out through keyholes. Parents are fundamentally responsible people and want the best for their children. It is our job to make the connection for them between good parental relationships and strong, happy children, just as it is our job to make the connection for the community between strong family units and a solid citizenry.

As we have extended the use of family counseling, there has been a noticeable change in attitude on the part of many new clients. Some of this change is directly traceable to payment for service. Most of the change is an indirect result of payment. Where we have been successful in our community education, we have helped people bear the fact that they have trouble, because we have held out to them the possibility of doing something about it. One of our greatest encouragements is that clients who have found the service valuable refer members of their families and friends. The effect of our talking about ourselves and our clients sharing their knowledge of the agency has been one of making new applicants less self-conscious so that in addition to an applicant's natural timidity and fear there is also a feeling of security in knowing that others have lived through similar experiences and found help. Having people talk freely of family counseling as a community service is obviously the only way by which family counseling will ever take its true place and be of the greatest benefit possible. It is this knowledge of counseling which will enable people to come to us with a quicker recognition that they themselves have a part in their problems and that a change is dependent upon their personal willingness to be involved in a helping process. How-

ever, the group which has come represents but a small fraction of the people who are in need of help. The real acceptance of family counseling is dependent upon a broad, consistent program of community education.

This program should not consist merely of education about the existence of the agency. If we used our experience for the ultimate benefit to the community we would be doing active scientific research in the field and sharing with the community what we know that makes for good family relationships, as well as what we know of behavior which represents symptoms of future trouble. It is right for our concentration to be focused on the individual client, but it is wasteful for us not to study our experience as a whole and put it together for the benefit of the community as well as the profession. It has been our reticence in making known our professional findings and standards of help which is partially responsible for people's willingness to follow quack radio advice or seek counseling from anyone who hangs out a shingle and claims professional competence. It is high time we took some initiative and endeavored to standardize a responsible, skillful, safeguarded counseling job, with the educational and continuous training qualifications we know to be essential. For it is only then that the mass of people will start thinking of this service with the same awareness and attitude that they have toward other personal services, such as medicine and the law.

This is essential if counseling services are to render the great value inherent in them. In the long experience of the family agency we have learned that there is an inverse ratio between the length of time a problem has existed and its amenability to treatment. We have learned the hard way that the most that can be done with a bad problem of long duration is to prevent it from getting worse, and rarely can the sapped energy and the distorted feelings that are the inevitable results of years of helpless struggle be positively directed. An important concomitant of payment for service has been that people have come when their problems were newer, when they had not expended years of effort in trying to deny or hide them. They have come while there was still energy and hope available for change. It is from working with these clients that counseling has received its greatest impetus, since it is from working with this group that we have had the opportunity to learn the real meaning of preventive casework.

Our problem is to find means whereby the preventive values of family counseling may be made known to the community. It is how to make people conscious of tension points and of the kind of situation which can no longer be remedied by an environmental change or by the application of some new intellectual concept. It is how to help a mother whose child is, by not eating, reacting to stress between his father and mother, get help with her marital situation instead of waiting until the child's anxiety makes him adopt one negative pattern after another. It is how to help a parent whose intelligent son fails one course after another at college stop treating the problem as though it were one of study habits, and think in terms of the boy's problem in trying to grow up and separate from his parents. It is a process of enabling people to know and acknowledge that there are times when the accumulation of pressure and emotional involvement makes it impossible for their maturity, stability, and intelligence to operate independently for a constructive solution. Our job is also a process of educating people in the knowledge that a bad familial relationship spreads its effects in geometric proportions, and that what is today a minor problem between husband and wife can mean a broken home tomorrow.

If we truly believe this, education in the function and use of the family agency is no longer related to just one or two groups in the community. We know now that juvenile delinquency is not confined to families where family disorganization is complicated by financial difficulty. We know now that taking refuge from parental responsibility in physical illness is not a device of the rich alone. We know now that inability to use vocational training to earn a livelihood can be the problem of a shoemaker, a business executive or a college professor. The ill effects of a bad relationship with people or to one's capacities cut across any sociological grouping. Neither money nor education can provide insurance against these hazards. The insurance can only come when people realize that they are in trouble and seek professional help at that time.

Family casework agencies are faced with a serious decision. Shall they put their resources and energy at the disposal of anyone in the community who needs their services, or shall they preserve their assets for the economically underprivileged? During the last five years of comparative economic ease family agencies have had an opportunity to concentrate on the development of their counseling skills,

because relief requests were comparatively few, and because there has been a general movement toward using psychological help of one sort or another. As we enter a period of financial stress, we shall have to decide whether we are again to become agencies which meet an infinitesimal part of the government's responsibility for food and shelter, or whether we will hold high the protective counseling service and hew for ourselves a function related to our best skill and the need of the greatest number. Personally, I see our responsibility as counseling in family relationships regardless of the family's economic circumstances and I feel that the responsibility for financing the basic needs of those people who are unable to finance themselves belongs to the government. I think that a clarification of our objectives is essential because we are going to be pulled in so many directions and because there are so many pressures.

The most important consideration is the level of development of our practitioners, as a result both of training and of education. Counseling requires a tremendous amount of individual professional maturity and security, but so does good relief giving. We did not learn how to administer tangible services in a way which enabled the client to use them for change, without a great deal of study, sincere professional experimentation, and examination of practice. We will not learn good counseling practice without a greater investment. But the investment is impossible unless our goals are clear and our right established to concentrate on the development of these skills. We have come to the point where we know that good professional practice is dependent upon experimentation and research. We know, too, that finding the best practice is costly in terms of time and of errors. This is a positive rather than a negative commentary. No skill or science is truly helpful which discovers a single answer and says, here we rest. It is only in trying for the next answer that we keep moving with the times and are dynamically related to the needs of people. If we can bear the technical responsibility involved in this assertion of our role we can bear the other responsibilities. These are the education of the community, both in a direct use of the agency and in a beginning use of the field's general contribution toward public mental health.

The result of charging a fee for service has been primarily to bring new groups of clients to the agency. The new group has presented us, not with new problems, but with problems which are as old to the

agency as its years of existence. The newness has come out of what we have learned in better, surer skill, and in our laying to rest the bugaboo that the poor have more trouble in family relationships than the rich. It is not more, nor is it even different, trouble. The poor have trouble and the rich have trouble; we do not have to decide whose is greater. All we have to do is find out what the community needs from the family agency and address ourselves to that, both in the training within the field and in the education of the community in its use.

HOMEMAKER SERVICE FOR PARENTS AND CHILDREN

By Frances Preston and Rika MacLennan

HOMEMAKER SERVICE HAS BEEN A PART of the total casework program of some social agencies since the early 1920s. This type of care for children has proved to be valid when carried on as part of a casework program. Both child care and family agencies have established the service for interim or short-time care during brief illnesses of the mother, and for inclusive or long-time care when the mother is permanently out of the home.

The United States Children's Bureau recognized the value of homemaker service as a method of child care and in November, 1937, called a conference of national and local agencies in the fields of social work, public health, nursing, home economics, and vocational training "to consider the fundamental principles of organization and satisfactory standards of service and the various means by which future development of the service might be guided along sound lines."

In 1938 the National Committee on Homemaker Service was formed. This committee has continued under the guidance of the Children's Bureau and with active participation by the Family Service Association of America and the Child Welfare League of America. The joint efforts of the Committee and of the Children's Bureau have made possible the dissemination of material helpful to social agencies interested in inaugurating the service here and in other countries. Russell Sage Foundation, at the request of the Committee, is compiling monthly statistics, reported by thirty-one agencies, in order to make possible the sharing of uniform statistical information for the analysis and evaluation of homemaker services.

What does homemaker service offer to parents and children? Through the service is afforded a means of maintaining family unity during the temporary illness or permanent absence of the mother. Inclusive or long-time care affords children the security of their own home and at least one parent with whom they can make a positive identification. They have an opportunity to develop normal rela-

tionships with siblings. The parental warmth of their own home in the environment to which they are accustomed provides children the best opportunity of learning to relate to people, to form patterns of independence and coöperation, and to develop ego strengths. The homemaker supplements the father in providing for the emotional, mental, and physical development of the children.

This presupposes that homemaker service is suggested by the caseworker only when parents want to maintain the home and when personality strengths are sufficient to make possible a constructive plan. It does not mean that homemaker service should be considered only when the father is a mature, adequate person. On the contrary, it is of real value in many situations where the father is a passive, dependent person. In fact his passivity, if not extreme, may be an attribute helping him to fill the role of a part-time mother. Real warmth for, and understanding of, the children, sufficient stability to assume more responsibility than is necessary when the mother is in the home, and willingness to coöperate with both the homemaker and the caseworker are essential for success when inclusive care is considered. The father must be allowed to retain his position as head of the household.

Interim or short-time care during temporary incapacity of the mother often enables a home to continue with comparatively little disruption. Temporary placement of the children due to the advent of a new baby, hospitalization of the mother, or her illness in the home may be a traumatic experience. When no plans are made, children are farmed out among neighbors or are left at home uncared for, unless the father stays with them. A homemaker enables him to continue working, relieves both his and the mother's anxiety, facilitates her recovery, and allows the children to remain in their own environment.

Homemaker service brings about beneficial results to families by being a part of a total casework program. Is homemaker service a casework service? For the answer, let us consider Mary Richmond's definition as found in Gordon Hamilton's book *Theory and Practice of Social Case Work*: "Social case work may be defined as the art of doing different things for and with different people, by coöperating with them to achieve at one and the same time their own and society's betterment."¹ There can be little doubt but that homemaker

¹ Gordon Hamilton, *Theory and Practice of Social Case Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), p. 11.

service falls within the definition as an area of casework service. A high degree of casework skill and of sensitivity is essential for constructive use of homemaker service. Careful evaluation and diagnosis are as necessary as in other areas of casework.

The family's real desire for the service must be determined during exploration of other plans which might be considered. Each member of the family must be individualized in order to have a complete picture. Family relationships and characteristics, the role played by each parent, and the place of each child in the family constellation comprise necessary background material in selecting a suitable homemaker. Much more detail regarding the mode and level of living and cultural pattern is needed than is usually obtained in the average case. Knowledge of household management and equipment, low-cost food planning, and basic clothing needs is essential. Detailed discussion of the financial situation is necessary to determine the amount of agency supplementation toward homemaker wages and toward providing essential equipment which may be lacking.

The caseworker will find herself in a new, many-sided relationship with the homemaker and members of the family. Utmost skill is sometimes needed to keep a proper balance in these relationships. The caseworker will give guidance to the homemaker during her adjustment to the family. She is a new person with the family group, with whom interrelationships are being established. Often she will need help in understanding problems caused by the absence of the mother or problems more deeply rooted that existed prior to the mother's absence. The caseworker may need to work directly with the father or some other member of the family at a different level than the total case requires. At one and the same time she may be working with environmental and health problems, giving sustaining supportive help, and treating emotional problems. The caseworker may do these same things in many cases, but here we have that extra factor—the homemaker. To see more clearly the ramifications and to understand the dynamics of actual situations, let us consider the X. family:

Mrs. X. deserted her family when the responsibility became too much for her, leaving her husband and four children. She had been a deprived person with a great need for material things, since these represented the love she lacked as a child and could not accept from her husband. Mr. X. was crushed by her leaving. He blamed himself to some extent because he had not satisfied her needs. The security of a moderately paying job meant so much to him that he would not change to one which would temporarily have increased the family income and temporarily have satisfied Mrs. X.

She objected to Mr. X. working at night, but he did not make a change.

When Mrs. X. left, the children were temporarily cared for by an elderly relative. Mr. X. sought the help of a social agency, recognizing that he could not solve his problem alone. He was determined to keep the children together, yet questioned the responsibility of a person whom he could afford to hire.

Careful evaluation disclosed a strong, confident relationship between him and the children. He was accustomed to giving them care and attention. He indicated real willingness to cooperate with the agency. His passivity made it easy for him to accept capably and without complaint total responsibility for the children during the weekends, and to cooperate with the homemaker. Yet his masculinity was sufficiently dominant to be of value to the boys in their identification with him.

The homemaker, a warm, motherly, yet firm and somewhat controlling person, was placed in the home three years ago. During the first months, Mrs. B., the homemaker, needed a great deal of supportive help, interpretation, and praise, for there were many problems. From the practical point of view, Mrs. B. was handicapped because Mrs. X. had removed many household items which necessitated replacements and substitutions.

Bill, eight, and Paul, six, were quiet, conforming, well-mannered children who gave her little concern at first. Joe, four, and Ann, two, were the opposite. Ann cried herself to sleep at night, and then would wake up screaming for her "mommy." After about two months she gave this up and in less than six months was no longer enuretic. She accepted Mrs. B. as a mother person. Her occasional outbursts of temper and her display of "a mind of her own" are now no more than are expected of any normal, happy child learning to share attention and possession with siblings.

Joe, whose mother left him during the height of his oedipal development, presented a different picture. His hostile, aggressive behavior, resistance to control, eating problems, periods of sullenness, and his unresponsiveness to attention were a source of concern. His father found him difficult to understand. The caseworker spent considerable time interpreting the reasons for this behavior and helped the homemaker to work with Joe until she gradually won his confidence. As he began to improve, his ambivalence was evident. He is still sensitive and easily hurt. He occasionally regresses into a temper tantrum but he has developed a responsiveness which is gratifying.

Even though Bill and Paul were at first no trouble, Mrs. B. became aware that they were too quiet and withdrawn. With suggestions from the caseworker both Mrs. B. and Mr. X. have worked toward building the children's self-confidence and developing their interests outside themselves.

Mr. X. needed help in rebuilding his ego strengths and regaining his faith in his own adequacy. Since he has achieved a more satisfactory adjustment he is better able to make decisions and to meet problems which arise. He has been able to work constructively with Mrs. B. toward normal personality development of the children.

The traumatic experience of being deserted by their mother will leave some scar on the children. However, the warm affection and feeling of security achieved by the strong family unity would have been lost had it become necessary to place the children, or had Mr. X. tried to go on alone.

The homemaker and the caseworker combine their efforts with those of the family to re-enforce the strengths of the father and the children. From the standpoint of the community, this may well be considered a sound investment of time and money. From the standpoint of the parent, he has been helped to accomplish his purpose of maintaining a real home where the children can achieve normal physical, mental, and emotional development. From the standpoint of the children, this atmosphere of security is strengthened by a good father who plays baseball with the boys and has tea parties with Ann.

To show that homemaker service is of value even in cases where prognosis seems poor, let us consider the A. family:

Mrs. A. is mentally ill and permanently hospitalized. Mr. A. is an inadequate, hypochondriacal man who, even though he has a regular job, never is out of debt. In fact, debts seem to be as compulsive to him as drink to an alcoholic. Going into debt is one means of building up his feeling of importance. He has some warmth for the children but has to express it by giving material evidence of his love, thereby increasing his debts.

Agnes, eight, was an extremely withdrawn, unresponsive child, whose meager source of security seemed to stem from her attachment to her father. She met most suggestions or questions with the passive resistance of total uncommunicativeness, or with "I'll have to ask my father."

Jim, at five, was attractive and likeable, but infantile in his behavior. He was enuretic, talked baby talk, and made an excessive bid for attention. Both he and Agnes were feeding problems.

Pat, the baby of eight months, was extremely retarded and gave the impression of being a subnormal child. Usually he lay quietly in his buggy, making no attempt to sit up or turn over. In fact, he could not sit up unless held. He was of normal size for his age, plump but pale.

Even though the outlook was discouraging the father showed some strengths in the areas of work, personal habits, and a firm desire to keep the children. This indicated that their own home would be preferable to placement, at least for a trial period. That period has extended for one and one-half years and is continuing because of the value to the children. The first homemaker could not accept Agnes, nor could she establish a helpful relationship with her. However, Pat and Jim responded well to her care and showed marked improvement. Because of Agnes's continued withdrawal, a separate caseworker was used with her for eight months. She

soon began expressing her hostility in overt acts. This was the first evidence of change and progress.

When a warm, friendly, more secure homemaker was available, she was placed in the home. She accepted Agnes as she was, exercised quiet, firm control, yet extended calm friendliness. With the help of the caseworker she proceeded slowly to establish a relationship of confidence with Agnes—probably the best one the little girl had experienced since almost complete rejection by her mother at the time of Jim's birth. Agnes has lost her tense, scared expression and looks like a happy child. She is still afraid of strangers but with those she knows, she laughs and talks in a quiet, though spontaneous way. In school she shows no leadership, but some participation. She has acquired several playmates. Progress in Agnes's ability to relate to people has been sufficient to prove that she is not a psychotic child, as was once indicated.

Both Agnes and Jim have ceased to be feeding problems since they derive enough satisfaction and security otherwise. Jim no longer reverts to baby talk and enuresis.

At the insistence of the caseworker, Mr. A. allowed Pat to be taken out of the buggy and put in a play pen where he learned to move about. His progress was slow at first, but during the last six months he has made up for lost time. He now seems to be nearly normal physically and mentally.

There is room for further progress, but the expectation is that the children will grow into better developed and adjusted people than they would have been without a homemaker. Mr. A. has shown the least change of any of the family. However, he has cooperated in sharing responsibility with the homemaker; shows pride in the progress of the children, claiming the credit for it; and derives considerable satisfaction from being the head of the household.

The homemakers needed, and used constructively, the interpretation and the supportive help of the caseworker. Although she does not take from the father any responsibility which he can handle, she assumes leadership in the area of the children's physical and emotional growth. Efforts have been made to build up Mr. A.'s strengths, and he is included in all planning so that he may retain his rightful feeling of importance in the family.

Placement would have been disastrous for Agnes. Her personality was such that it would have been detrimental to remove her from her father to the new environment of a foster home. Institutional placement, where there is often less opportunity for personal attention, would have caused further repression and regression. The rebuilding of this neurotic personality and the constructive development of Jim and Pat show positive evidence of the value of homemaker service to parents and children.

You may say that these are success stories. They are, and they are typical of many. There are some which are not successful, and of course there are some families where other plans will better meet the needs. Some families will not accept the guidance of the caseworker. Some families lack sufficient stability to hold together. It is true that children from such homes may respond better in a controlled environment than they would in their homes because the control gives them some security. Thus careful evaluation by the caseworker is necessary to determine what plan best meets the needs of the family.

One condition in particular, that of the chronically ill mother at home, has been found extremely difficult to deal with in inclusive homemaker service. Several factors contribute to make this the most difficult type of family in which to use a homemaker. The mother cannot and should not feel displaced. Because of her own insecurity, regardless of how carefully selected the homemaker may be, the mother may have mixed feelings toward her. She is apt to be overprotective of the children, or fearful that her husband will lose interest in her. Her dependency may be developed to the point where she cannot give up her illness, or will find a new one.

An example which points out the danger signals is that of the M. family:

Mrs. M., mother of five children ranging from fifteen to two years of age, returned home after hospital treatment. Since relatives who had cared for the children during her absence could not continue to do so during the long convalescence, Mrs. J., an experienced, capable homemaker was placed in the home. Mrs. M. soon indicated overprotectiveness of the children, resisting suggestions that they help with some of the household tasks, placing the homemaker on the level of a maid. There were disagreements over discipline and the responsibility for it. Mrs. M. was critical of the homemaker's work, was overexact, and was unable to give direction without being dictatorial. Mrs. M. felt that the homemaker did not care about the children and seemed to "brush them off," yet she resented the attention the homemaker gave the children. After about four months, Mrs. J. refused to continue.

Another homemaker was placed, after careful discussion with Mrs. M. regarding division of responsibility and plan of work. Mrs. M. recognized with the caseworker that she was overexact and that she found it difficult to talk with people about plans. However, she continued to want the floors scrubbed every day and to expect an impossible amount of work from the homemaker. Even after a careful work schedule was planned, she continued to insist that the children take no responsibility.

When the second homemaker was removed after four months, because

of growing dissatisfaction, Mrs. M. decided that she could assume full responsibility for the children and asked for help with the heavy work on a part-time basis. This lasted for only a few months because Mrs. M. became so dependent and demanding of attention.

The constant friction between Mrs. M. and the homemakers about the care of the children did not help them in their adjustment. However, there was a strong feeling of family unity. With the homemaker removed, the three older children had to learn to do things for themselves and for the family. Although Mrs. M.'s health improved, she derived considerable gratification from her invalidism.

The presence of the mother in the home is seldom a deterrent in interim cases. Even though the same basic principles of evaluation are necessary, the short-time-care cases serve a different purpose. Here, the combined efforts of the family, the caseworker, and the homemaker keep homes intact during temporary disruptions due to the illness of the mother. This involves care of the children during her illness and convalescence. The assistance serves to reassure the mother that the children are adequately cared for, thus relieving this anxiety. The father is helped through a frightening, discouraging period when he is faced with the alternatives of cutting off his income by staying home from work, leaving the children in incompetent hands, or arranging for placement.

Children suffer from fears aroused by a mother's illness and absence. When they remain in the familiar surroundings of their own home, their fears of the unknown are alleviated. Tensions are lessened so that the whole family has a better chance of returning to normal living after the mother's convalescence. The security of the home has been maintained.

The value of interim service is shown by the experience of the C. family:

Mr. C. came to the agency several months before Mrs. C.'s confinement. He said that the family could not again stand what had happened at the birth of the last child when they tried to work out their own plans. Circumstances beyond their control made placement of the two children necessary. Worry over them at the time of Mrs. C.'s confinement sent Mrs. C. into a nervous relapse which kept her in the hospital several weeks and piled up doctor and hospital bills. The children came back home upset and apprehensive over what would happen to them next. It took months to achieve a well-balanced living. Mr. C. now wanted help to prevent a similar disruption. Physical conditions in the home were found to be poor,

but there was indication of close family ties and reasonably adequate adjustment, although more strengths were evident in the father than in the mother. While plans for a homemaker were being made, a sufficiently good relationship was established with Mrs. C. so that some progress was made in dealing with her insecurity and anxiety. The homemaker, during and after Mrs. C.'s confinement, provided a strengthening influence. She gave Mrs. C. some of the "mothering" she needed, yet helped build up her feeling of adequacy by praising her for the good physical care of the children, by helping her to plan work more efficiently, and by letting Mrs. C. know that her attitude toward the children contributed to their being happy, well-trained youngsters.

The C.'s were enabled to maintain their *status quo* during a time which they had feared might bring a family breakdown. With the caseworker and the homemaker both re-enforcing family strengths, they can now carry on adequately and will be better able to meet future crises.

Let us consider the findings. Homemaker service makes possible the preservation of family life by a father, when there is no mother. This gives him the satisfaction of knowing he is contributing to the growth and development of his children, and gives him the prestige, in his own eyes and in the community, of remaining the head of his family. When the mother is a part of the family, but temporarily incapacitated, a homemaker relieves her anxiety concerning the children and the home. She knows the security of her home is being maintained. The children have the continuing love and security of at least one parent in their own home and its familiar environment. They have the opportunity for parental identification and the basis for developing sound relationships with other people. Homemaker service is one means of preserving family life, which is important to the development of mature citizens for the future generation.

THE PHILOSOPHY AND USE OF BUDGET STANDARDS

By Vocille M. Pratt

I TAKE IT THAT "BUDGET STANDARDS" for food, for clothing, and the like, are the parts of a whole. The whole, I call a "standard budget." I do not believe that a standard budget or its parts can ever meet the actual needs of clients. The explanation of the point of view that underlies that flat and unequivocal statement is in two parts: The first part is my conviction that standard budgets have a specific function to perform, that they are a means of measuring the amount of money that people should have if they are to be given a chance to buy the goods and services included for a specific purpose. That purpose may be to provide a minimum subsistence; to provide a decent living; or to define comfort. I believe that they can perform that function, if the particular limits are accepted, so that those who develop standard budgets may work responsibly within a known framework, to serve a known purpose, to accomplish a known objective. I am afraid our present standard budgets are not so clearly focused. The second part of my explanation is that the actual needs of people are met only by the people who have the needs, for only they know when their needs are met.

This is so simple. Let me illustrate. One actual need is that we shall feel satisfied by the food we eat. One day, after a thick steak, we feel fine. Another day, it takes a dessert to make us feel that a steak dinner has been complete. The third day, we are not even interested in steak. Here are no food fads, no new energy demands, but purely subjective measures of satisfaction, of whether need has been met. Needs that are "actual," that is, "existing," are felt and known and responded to, are met or go unmet, by only one person, the one who can know them in himself and how to meet them for himself. How shall standard budgets be related to the actual needs of people?

Because we ourselves are people, we know something about the requirements of people. As home economists and social workers we have been required to go beyond our personal experience and to learn

more about the needs of people than have some other groups. We still have much to learn. No matter how great our knowledge and skill, we cannot presume to meet the needs of others. We may provide resources that an individual can, if he chooses, use. These resources may be money, information, or an opportunity for a relationship to a disciplined professional person—to name three that are most familiar to home economists and social workers.

That most people in the United States have to have money in order to live has come to be generally accepted. The person who proclaims that grandfather never saw more than twenty dollars in cash a year and got along fine no longer finds many patient listeners. The person who insists that groceries in a basket, milk on the doorstep, and clothes from a storeroom are "enough," implying that these will give an American citizen a fair chance in his right to the pursuit of happiness, will usually find himself in the minority. An expanding state and national responsibility that sees to it that everyone has some money attests our acceptance of the idea that this is part of providing for the nation's general welfare, however halting we still are when it comes to minimum wage legislation, insurance benefits and coverage, adequate funds for the categorical assistance programs throughout the nation, or Federal grants-in-aid for general relief.

This acceptance of fact gives social agencies who provide money to individuals a great advantage over their position of ten or fifteen years ago. Now, there is local, state, and Federal acceptance of this function and financial support of it. This is no small thing. Compare it, please, with the acceptance of, and support for, providing a service that can be used by individuals, as described in 1946 by Kenneth L. M. Pray. Said Mr. Pray, a service that can be used by individuals,

in clarifying their responsibilities and opportunities within their own circle of relationships, in finding new and more meaningful relations for the fulfillment of their own wants or needs, or in renewing and replenishing their strength for meeting the hazards and difficulties and realizing the potentialities of their social situations.¹

Will we be as little ready, ten or fifteen years from now, to give that kind of service on a nation-wide basis as we are now to give money skillfully and adequately so that individuals may be really in a position to meet their own needs? Will as large a group of the community

¹ Kenneth L. M. Pray, "Social Work in a Revolutionary Age," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1946 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), p. 12.

be unwilling then to let people realize their own potentialities as now resist allowing people to spend their own money, if it happens to come to them through a social agency? I hope not, and I believe that the conviction and the resulting process we use in giving money now will have some part in preparing the way for an acceptance of this newer service in the future.

This unwillingness to let individuals be free when some or all of their money comes from the community is responsible for one of the unresolved conflicts around standard budgets. What is the purpose of standard budgets? Are they to measure the amount of money it will take the most skillful buyer, purchasing at the cheapest market, to buy only enough food to keep body and soul together? Or are they to measure the total amount of money that average, ordinary citizens should have if they are to be well fed, adequately clothed and sheltered, carrying their part of a democracy's life by being fathers, mothers, grandparents, school children—human beings with at least some small sources of happiness that lift life above something to be endured?

Greater financial support for the assistance programs—public and private—each year has made it possible for home economists to develop the budget standard for food so that such consummate skill is not demanded of the person who must still manage carefully on assistance money. Home economists and social workers, speaking out of their knowledge of how too limited food allowances would mean that people would not buy what would protect their health, had their part in getting more adequate food allowances established and securing some additional financial support for them. Studies showed that, on the average, with more money better diets were bought just because people liked to eat and dared to spend their money that way. The standard food allowances helped the home economist and the social worker to get the money into people's hands. What classes people joined, what books they read, what recipes they cut out, what their children said the teacher had told them about what they should eat, we do not know nor need to know. All were ways of meeting social, psychological, subjective needs which they were free to find for themselves.

Are home economists ready, after ten years of concentrating on budget standards for food and clothing, to develop true standard budgets that will measure how much money it takes to buy a living?

Are social workers ready to demand such a measurement, if they are to be responsible for giving money? Are there only a few of us who think it is illogical, if not ridiculous, to grant twelve dollars for shelter for a family of five who live in squalor while twenty-five dollars for shelter is given to a woman living alone who has always rented a pleasant room? If the figures for food and clothing progress by additional amounts for additional individuals, why does not the shelter figure? If decent shelter—adequate as defined in a standard, let us say—costs twenty-five dollars for one person, why can we not find out what it costs for two, and three, and five?

Someone may say that standard shelter is not available, even if people have the money. I can only remind you that we left our clothing standards intact during the period when few shoes, few shirts, and no hose were available. If we can reach a definite amount for food and clothing, why must we call something a "standard budget" which does not establish a figure for standard shelter? I do not know of a single budget that is being used by an operating assistance agency that does not escape into "as paid" at some point rather than come to grips with all the items that have been accepted as daily necessities for everyone—and then with what the total amount would be.

Perhaps the idea is not yet generally accepted that the purpose of a standard budget is to provide a definition of what is decent American living. Nor is the idea accepted that the total amount of money that decent living would cost should be assured to everyone by one means or another: wages, benefits, assistance. There are assistance agencies where the idea is presumably accepted, since those agencies have been established by the state and have accepted the responsibility for granting assistance in an amount that, together with the individual's income and resources, would permit a living "compatible with decency and health." I quote the very words that are used in many of the state laws.

If we have accepted these two ideas, is it fear that keeps us from going into action? Are we afraid we cannot develop a standard budget that defines a decent standard of living in our state or our community? The home economists need not do this alone. Remember, many professions and many people know what people need to have if they are to function effectively. For example, in developing shelter standards almost anybody will know that if the cooking facilities include only a one-burner electric hot plate, the chances are too slim for the prep-

aration of nourishing meals to regard this as a standard by which to arrive at an adequate amount for housekeeping shelter.

Are we afraid that it will cost too much to give people an opportunity to live decently? That decision rests with the legislators, the contributors, the nation, this democracy. Our responsibility is to help them find out how much it would cost. No one can decide whether too much is necessary before he knows how much is necessary.

Are we afraid that having helped to get enough money for people to live, we shall be held responsible for their living in some particular way? We now have to listen to complaints about the individual whose way of life conflicts with some other individual's standard of social conduct, or with the community's mores, or with the law of the land. If we are now sure in our personal conviction, fortified by the nation's ideals, that the uniqueness of the individual in his strength and development gives the nation its strength and development, we ought to be no less sure because we have helped individuals have money to use in finding opportunities for creative living.

Think of the simplicity that would be possible if we should make up our minds to establish, as accurately as possible, the total amount of money with which people in cities, in villages, or on farms could secure a decent living. Standard budgets for people in different circumstances could be developed, depending on the state's resources in personnel to devote itself to such development and in finance to take account of these differences. Once a standard has been developed, we can devote ourselves more quickly and intensively to the modifications that specific circumstances, like illness, demand for certain groups.

It should not be impossible for the state and the local agency to come to decisions about the things everyone has a right to buy if he wishes. One group in one state recently decided that the time had come for admitting that electricity was the accepted way of having light and that, therefore, no other medium would be used in its standards for lighting. Under this decision, money for lighting by electricity can be made available to everyone. Telephones are currently accepted by assistance agencies as a necessary medium of communication for certain designated groups: the employed, the ill, the isolated. I do not find, however, that the minimum rate for service is included in the total amount that standard budgets for such groups would establish. Practice continues to gear itself to paying for telephones al-

ready available, not to furnishing money that gives other people in these groups an opportunity to secure a phone if they wish.

Standard budgets have a place in helping to provide money's part of the opportunity to live creatively. Many things in addition to money may also need to be available for everyone if he so wishes. My conviction is that it is important for individuals to have, in addition to their own inner sense of worth, experiences which demonstrate to them that others also held them to be of worth and significance. If an individual does not have money enough to purchase what anybody ought to have, there is a possibility that he will lose even his sense of his own significance and feel that his lack of financial resources has resulted in his being discarded by his world. Theoretically, our government or our community, when it takes on a responsibility for service to any group in the population, establishes the conviction of the world as we know it in our own country that each of us for whom this service is established is of worth and significance to all of us. Practically, each of us experiences this theoretical recognition of our worth as we come in contact with the community's forces in operation. The individual may find in the assistance agency a concrete demonstration of this recognition of his worth when it gives money on the basis of what it knows anybody ought to have and leaves him free to meet his own needs. If this occurs, I believe that he may take from that experience a renewed strength in himself, and a belief in what he can do that offers opportunity for creative activity in his world. The budget standards, and a standard budget based on them, relate to his actual needs in so far as the people who develop and use them are related to the needs of each of us and accept the right of each of us to recognition of our own strength—our own way of living in the inner and outer world we create each moment from whatever opportunities that world places within our reach.

IMPLICATIONS IN THE BROADER USE OF BUDGETS

By Ruth Gottemoller

THIS IS ADMITTEDLY AN ECLECTIC PERIOD in casework, when we are reaching back into our earliest beginnings and picking up a thread here and there: appreciation of the social and cultural influences in the client's life, recognition of the need for social reform and social legislation, increased skill and interest in manipulation of the environment—threads which we had dropped as unimportant when our attention was so completely focused on the emotional aspects of the client's problems that nothing else seemed to matter. It is not that there is a lesser stress now on understanding personality or the dynamics of behavior, but rather that we at last feel sure enough of our acceptance of these disciplines that we can begin again to speak of something else, without the danger that we will lose sight altogether of the psychiatric contributions to casework.

Our greater respect for environmental factors, our willingness again to be occupied with the reality aspects of the client's life and problems, should bring us new respect for our relief function and let us, as one caseworker has put it, "stop talking about relief as a tool in casework and begin talking about casework as a tool in relief giving." I do not believe that anything in the whole field of social work is harder than handling relief in such a way that a person can come through this unnatural experience of having, as an adult, to look to someone else for his means of support, and come through it none the worse for wear. It is my conviction too that this is a field in which social workers can make one of their most original contributions. Many other fields have first been plowed for us by the psychiatrist, the vocational guidance expert, the psychologist, but no one except caseworkers has ever staked a claim professionally to this field. If we do not find out what it means to people to receive relief and how the experience can be made constructive, nobody will.

As an eclectic, summing-up period in casework this is not a time of new thinking on relief giving. It seems to me that we have been

slow to put into practice what we must know by now in this area. The result is that anomalous arrangement whereby public and private agency side by side give relief in a community, the private agency often too little aware of budget and external realities and the public agency too little aware of the person. Neither of these is unimportant. Mary Richmond years ago warned us what happened when we neglected to consider the client and his individual characteristics. It took us thirty years to integrate this thinking so completely into our practice that by 1941 Grace Marcus had to point out the psychological unsoundness of abandoning objective standards of eligibility and a budgetary procedure for establishing the relief grant. We are still struggling to integrate this point of view into our practice and to end with a degree of individualization which makes for an awareness of the person—though not a formless relief process which would abdicate our responsibility to administer the agency funds in favor of the client's drawing a blank check on the agency. Such integration does not come easily, and though I have suggested reasons why the present period in social work should see its achievement, there still are signs that it is a long way from accomplishment. Miss Marcus's point of view defines our official position, but we betray ourselves constantly in unofficial pronouncements. I should not be plugging so hard for awareness of the contributions still to be made in this field were I not hearing from students such phrases as, "just a relief case," and from agencies a proud quoting of their service-only statistics, as if these were more worth while. So long as we continue to do our relief work with our left hands, so to speak, we will continue to be ashamed of it—and with good reason.

We must first straighten out our thinking on the dignity of financial need and the dignity, therefore, of a service which seeks to satisfy this need before we are ready to talk about casework as a tool in relief-giving, ready to see that relief wisely and soundly given is a service worth while in its own right. Relief does not have to glorify itself by creating a certain emotional reaction or solving an emotional problem. It will often do the one or the other, and the social worker must understand and handle his relief process so responsibly that he takes into account these other effects it may have. He gives or refuses as the objective situation requires, but he also handles in his casework relationship, so far as he is able, the psychological effects which his giving or refusing has set up.

Only a caseworker who has this kind of respect for the relief process can realize the dignity and dynamic possibilities of a standard budget—that democratic instrument for seeing that our decisions are not based on accidental factors, such as which worker happened to receive the case, and that gauge by which we recognize when the client through ignorance of resources, diffidence about asking, or perhaps a need to suffer and to punish himself, is struggling along on less than he needs for wholesome living or feels that he needs more than most other people find to be adequate. Having recognized the one or the other reaction we may be able to bring this problem too into focus and begin to work with him upon it.

The budget played a part in the case of Mrs. B., a young woman who tried to manage without her husband during the war days, with no ability to live within an income, no concept of making choices. When matters grew difficult she tended to run away from any need for change in herself. It is not necessary to discuss the childhood deprivations which had made her the immature young woman she was. We can start with the fact that the first worker gave all that Mrs. B. asked because the worker was identified with her rather than with any objective reality.

The result was the spiral we often see in cases. An increase in income found Mrs. B. always sure that she could manage, and always failing. She began requesting and receiving her relief check a few days earlier each month until she was requesting it almost a month early. When the worker eventually recognized a problem of money management, Mrs. B. began keeping an account of expenses, but she made no change in her planning.

This worker, with her problem of overidentification with the client, might have come earlier to see the real situation had she been supported and bound by an administrative framework which included a standard budget. It should have been possible at intake or soon after to recognize Mrs. B.'s pattern of treating money as if it were elastic. The worker needed a budget in which she could have confidence, one sufficiently adequate and well enough adjusted to current changes so that the client's projection of her own inner difficulties onto the income would not have disconcerted the worker nor made her uncertain in her decisions. She needed a standard budget to make it possible for her to refuse Mrs. B.'s requests and to know that she was not doing an injustice, to refuse without feeling guilty.

Agencies too often leave the worker to carry alone the burden for decisions which should be carried for him. This is not a plea for a rigidity of policy which makes it possible for the worker to function almost automatically. Rather, as decisions which should be made democratically for Mrs. A. and Mr. O. and Miss L. alike, are made through administrative action, the worker is freed to make decisions creatively in areas where they count for more, to take responsibility for seeing the client as an individual and appreciating the meaning of this new experience to him.

This does not mean that if an agency is unable to give relief on an adequate scale and to provide adequate budget standards the worker would be unable to help someone like Mrs. B. The worker who finally helped her did so under just that handicap, but he was able to do it because he knew at least the degree of his budget's inadequacy, knew, therefore, when Mrs. B.'s difficulty came from the objective situation and when it came from her subjective experience. He knew, in effect, when to say, "This problem lies in you. What can we do about it together?" and when to support Mrs. B.'s gradually strengthening ego to assess her reality properly; when to say "You're right. You are being asked to live on less than you should. I don't wonder that you find it hard, but that's the way it is and I can't change it." Moreover, the client showed that she could grow up under this regime.

Treatment like this, which in its striving for realism makes use of firmness, can be very harsh in the hands of a worker with negative attitudes toward the client, and here again we need the objectivity made possible by a standard budget in order that we may be aware of any punishing impulse which might cause us to minimize the client's need and scale down our grant.

At the time when Mrs. B.'s first worker was beginning to see the problem more clearly, the case was transferred to a new worker who saw the mistakes of his predecessor and, to some extent, overreacted. He recognized the client's tendency to see all her difficulties as due to lack of money. He refused to support this projection by unlimited giving and so prepared the client to recognize, however reluctantly, some need for change in herself. In time, she asked him rather earnestly what she could do about it; and he told her, "That is what I am willing to help you find out." He began now to exert a steady pressure toward reality. He reduced the amount of relief and held

before her the agency's policy of not regularly supplementing the government allotment as a limit toward which they must work.

All this was helpful, but the problems which he saw so clearly in Mrs. B. tended to obscure for him the problem of really inadequate income, and Mrs. B. after some tentative moves toward better planning began to respond to his firmness by complaining that relatives were making things so difficult for her that she wished she were dead and by expressing for the first time a negative feeling toward her baby. She had thought that she might have a baby if she married, she said, but she did not think the child would be sick or that she would be burdened with so much responsibility. She began to express anger at her husband and recounted her tragic childhood history and her aloneness at the time of the baby's birth—a last desperate plea, perhaps, to be loved and cared for on the basis of her helplessness. At Christmastime, when she might naturally feel her deprivations more keenly, she reacted almost with a temper tantrum, telling the worker in a try-and-stop-me fashion what she was going to do with her money. Carried out, this plan would have included purchase of a crib which cost a fourth of her month's income. Here the worker showed flexibility, reassuring us that his attitude to the client was basically sound. He paid for the crib because it was needed.

This worker's treatment was so much more planful than his predecessor's that it was only after it had failed over a period of months to produce any great improvement in the situation that he began to have misgivings about it. Meanwhile, there had occurred an episode of the kind which warns us that we are expecting a client to pull himself up by his boot straps. Mrs. B. found a friend who paid her pressing debts and took Mrs. B. and the baby into her home, willing to wait for board money until Mrs. B. went to work. She was motherly and concerned about the dark circles under Mrs. B.'s eyes, ready to get up at night with the baby in Mrs. B.'s place. Mrs. B. blossomed almost at once, but her plans for going to work moved further and further into the future. Then the friend tired of her efforts, and the worker had the client back.

I wish I could say that now there entered the hero in the form of a standard budget. It was, instead, the agency consultant who, outside the situation and able to view it more objectively, pointed out what I believe a standard budget might also have done: the real hardships Mrs. B. was up against, and the definite inadequacies of

her income, and all this in addition to the emotional burdens of loneliness and anxiety about her husband and of being expected to share the burden of his war experience, with none of its glamour. Now the worker's concern about the client's dependence grew less, and he became able to support her demands even when he sometimes had to deny legitimate requests. He united diagnostically an appreciation of the subjective reality, Mrs. B.'s personality pattern and her wanting to be given to unconditionally, with an appreciation of the objective reality, the gap between income and needs; and from then on the case moved forward. The worker began to express understanding of Mrs. B.'s burdens, to recognize that the income was not enough, even though it could not be made entirely adequate, to accredit her for the effort she was making. Happily, Mr. B. adopted the same tactics from overseas, sending her a little extra money, telling her that he always knew she was the real soldier of the family; and suddenly she seemed to grow up because now someone appreciated what she was doing. She joined a women's club and enjoyed it; she began to come early for appointments. When the worker again encouraged her to try to manage within her allotment and offered the help of a nutritionist, but on a basis which sympathized with her youth and inexperience and did not criticize, Mrs. B. accepted the offer, and the nutritionist reported her receptive and eager to learn. The outside insistence that she grow up had been removed; the worker ceased to be a parent who wanted her to be good without loving her enough; and Mrs. B. was freed to discover her own wish to mature.

This is one of those many cases in which relief giving, wisely handled, helps the client to solve underlying problems; but even if it had not solved other problems, so long as it met real need and left the client no less able to meet his own needs thereafter, it was a carrying out of the community's will and responsibility for its members, in which we could be proud to share a part. Here the relief handling took into account Mrs. B. as a person but kept one eye on objective reality as a safeguard against sharing her problem so completely that we had nothing to offer her of possible change if she would have it. She was able, therefore, to do some delayed growing up through the medium of relief with its gratifications, its inevitable frustrations, and the necessity for choices.

A worker who tried to separate relief giving from casework and

to direct Mrs. B. to another agency for relief could never have helped her, for the financial problem is the only one that creates enough conscious discomfort to hold her in a relationship with anyone who is not wholly indulgent and, therefore, unable to help her. But the someone who is taking Mrs. B. through her experience of testing and accepting reality must bring to it no personal hostility on which Mrs. B. would only too gladly project the reason for the worker's frustrating decisions and by which she could then evade the experience even while compelled to endure it. This worker will need something as definite as a standard budget on which to base her decisions, to remove as far as possible Mrs. B.'s too ready belief that it is a personal refusal.

The present period in casework, then, sees thinking which stems from respect for the individual creating an administration of relief as realistic and business-like as even the taxpayer could ask. I do not think that we are simply making a virtue of necessity but that we have come to a deeper insight into the meaning of the relief experience to the client when we now see our verifications, and our limitations in terms of a standard budget, as the something a client can give which makes this whole procedure a more even exchange. They serve as a reassurance to him that the experience of dependency will not be too seductive, that he can without anxiety receive what he needs because we will not let him take more than he needs, nor take it longer than he needs, and that the procedure is based on a respect for him that will not tolerate his falling down on a bargain with us nor his doing less than he could about his own problem.

RESPONSIBILITIES IN PLACEMENT OF CHILDREN

By Janice Bowen

WHEN WE SPEAK OF JOINT AND DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSIBILITIES in planning child placement we imply that both children's and family agencies share some responsibilities, while at the same time there are differences within the two fields which make a division of labor desirable. We imply some confusion as well as a growing awareness of agency structure, function, and policy as factors in this service.

I do not believe that we can discuss this subject adequately until we examine just what is involved in this process for the agency, for the worker, for the parent, and for the child. The placement function of an agency is a clearly focused task. This, in itself, does not relieve us of the responsibility for defining this service in such a way that its limitations and extent are clarified for the community, for other agencies, and for ourselves. We do not place every child under any circumstance. We are all limited in what we do, in relation to community understanding and acceptance of responsibility, in relation to community support, in relation to the service of other agencies, and in relation to our understanding of the methods and procedures of extending help. Granted that these things are different in different communities, and that they change within the same community, and that a continual readaptation of our function is necessary in order to meet changing social conditions, we should still be able so to state our policies and procedures that they define for the worker the direction, the boundaries, and the extent of the service. It is this kind of responsible action on the part of the agency which will help the worker and the parent come to an understanding regarding the parent's ability to carry through his intention of placing his child.

The structure of the agency, then, as well as the function, becomes an important element, both from the point of view of the worker who represents the agency and from the point of view of the parent who asks for help. I do not believe that a worker can extend respon-

sible help beyond the function of her agency. I do not believe that a parent can be helped in the most effective way unless the function, policies, and structure of our service have been developed for the sole purpose of helping him with his problem. If a parent is a client of a family agency, the caseworker will help him explore the possibilities in his own unique situation; she will help him use his strengths to deal with his own realities as they relate to his role within the family group; she has the responsibility of helping him evaluate his strengths and resources in relation to keeping the family together; she has the responsibility, too, of helping him come to some other decision when maintaining the family unit is no longer desirable or possible. Placement may be one of those considerations. If the parent feels that he wants to explore this possibility, a referral to the children's agency is indicated.

It is at this point that confusion exists between children's and family agencies. So long as we think in terms of the role of those agencies without consideration of the role of the parent, this confusion will continue. When we accept a parent's inherent right and responsibility in planning for his child; when we accept the fact that it is he, and no other person or agency in the community, with whom we must share responsibility if we are to help him—his role takes on an increased significance, and the structure of the service we set up to aid him will be related to helping him decide, first, whether he can really accept for himself all that is involved in separation from his child, and second, whether he can work with us toward a future plan for his child.

In a private agency the starting point is the parent who makes application for the placement of his child. Since we now recognize that the placement process is a sharing process between the parent and the agency from the very beginning, the initial contacts of parent and agency assumes increased importance. It is the situation of the parent, a situation which often has been long in the making, which makes him consider placement as a solution and motivates him to take the initial step of seeking help from the agency. As an indication, then, that he is now ready to take this first formal step, it becomes important that the responsibility for making an appointment for his first interview rests with him. Original requests for an appointment with a parent often come from many sources other than the parent himself. They come from members of the family, from interested

individuals, from other agencies, or even from another worker within a multiple-function agency—all people who know of the parent's problem and feel that placement offers a solution. How can we know from a referral, however, that the parent considers placement as even a possible solution? Even though the referring person has discussed placement with him, how can we really test his feeling in the matter? Because of the high number of broken appointments made for the parent by someone else, our staff gave serious consideration to this problem. We came to the conclusion that unless the parent could assume responsibility for making an appointment himself, he was not yet ready to consider the placement of his child. We handle indirect referrals now by saying that while we will be very glad to arrange an appointment for the parent we suggest that he call himself so that a time can be arranged which will be mutually agreeable. With this procedure our percentage of broken appointments was considerably reduced.

Where there is a parent—I am limiting this discussion to those situations where the parent retains legal responsibility for his child and where there is no reason why he should not continue to do so—we can never usurp his right to make for himself the decision as to placement. The parent, therefore, and not the child, becomes our first client. Where there are two parents retaining joint legal responsibility for the child, it becomes necessary to know how they both feel about giving up their child to the agency, and to know what part each will play, together or separately, with the agency and with the child.

With one eye always on the child, the caseworker, who knows only too well the meaning of separation for the child and the hazards of placement even under the most ideal conditions, may feel that for the best interests of the child she should explore with the parent the resources and strengths within the family group which might be utilized in keeping the family together. In doing this, however, she is ignoring the fact that the home is already either physically or psychologically broken, or both; that in asking for help the parent has already accepted his need for considering placement; and that psychologically he has already taken the first step toward separation from his child. By starting at a point other than where the parent is, the worker who, because of her fear, focuses on the hazards of placement for the child will be unable to relate herself to the parent and

his problem. Again, it is well to remember that usually the parent has initiated this contact with the placement agency after long consideration.

We find that parents come to the agency with varying degrees of readiness to give up their children. The parent may not be ready at all to part with his child; he would not consider doing so if there seemed any way to keep the child with him. Under these circumstances does he know of other resources in the community which he might use? When a parent comes to us in blind desperation, when he wants placement for his child only as a last resort, when he is unaware of other community resources, I believe that we have a responsibility for exploring other possibilities with him. Again the burden of what he does rests with him. We can tell him whom to see and where to go. By initiating his contact with the other agency, he will indicate his readiness to explore other services in relation to his need.

If, however, a parent asks for help with the placement of his child he is saying that at this time, for him, this would help solve his problem. He may or may not be ready to relinquish his child and to share responsibility with the agency for the future well-being of his child. He comes with little understanding of how, when, and on what terms the agency can help. It is around these things, then, that the parent and the agency first become related. As the worker and the parent consider together the concrete terms of placement—financial responsibility, visiting, medical permit, medical care, clothing—the parent will begin to understand what is involved in sharing responsibility with the agency, and the worker will begin to understand the degree to which the parent is separating from his child. In these early contacts, and throughout the period of placement, the experience with the worker will reaffirm the fact that this child belongs to this parent and that for a period of time the agency provides care, under certain conditions, only because he, the parent, wills it to be so.

The conditions of placement vary from agency to agency. Whatever these conditions are, they should not only be clearly defined by each agency, but they should be within what the agency itself is able to provide. I am referring to a practice of asking the parent to have the child committed to the agency in order to make it possible to receive public support for the child. Aside from the other implications of such a practice, and there are many, we are negating the

fact that this child belongs to this parent. Our future relationship with the parent may become jeopardized, for we are not only taking his child from him physically, but legally. In private agencies we assume responsibility for the child for a relatively short period. We should confine our service to those areas where the public, through tax support, does not provide care. If the placement is to have constructive meaning for the child and the parent it is important that a sustained relationship be maintained throughout this period between the parent and the worker who represents the agency. We are not being realistic when we emphasize the sharing nature of this process at the same time that we set up psychological barriers by requiring that the child become ours in a legal sense. We need to examine this procedure from the point of view of the parent as well as from the point of view of the agency. We need to examine it in terms of a clearly defined division of labor between the public and the private field. If we feel that this practice obscures our function or obstructs our service, it is inherently unsound.

The worker, then, must know with certainty on what terms the agency can give service. She must have accepted these terms so that she is at ease in stating them to the parent at the same time that she meets him on a warm, professional level, and together they explore what is involved in this service. In my own agency we know what it costs the agency to care for a child, including the cost of service. The financial agreement which the parents are asked to sign divides the costs in relation to board, medical care, clothing, and service. The first part of the agreement itemizes these expenses so that the parent knows how we arrive at the total cost of care. The second part of the agreement is completed by the parent after the worker and the parent together determine the extent of the parent's ability to assume financial responsibility for his child. He therefore knows how the money he pays will be used. If he is unable to pay for the full cost, he knows that the agency pays for the difference through community contributions to the community chest. Budgetary limitations make it necessary that we receive a 65 percent reimbursement from the parents for the costs of board, medical care, and clothing. After the child is placed, the parent is billed monthly. When financial agreements are made on a realistic basis, and handled in a business-like manner, we find that a parent's actual payments are closely related to the degree to which he understands and feels that

he is very much a part of this service. It is well always to remember that our work with the parent must have continuity and direction from the point of application to the discharge of his child from care.

The initial steps toward placement, then, are focused on the parent's problem and on his need to do something about it; on his understanding of what giving up his child will mean for him and for his child; and on the terms by which the agency can give this service. Even when these points are understood and agreed upon in the beginning they do not always guarantee smooth sailing. Preparation for an experience makes the reality less difficult, but it does not necessarily determine how we are going to handle that reality when it comes. We will always find some parents whose reality makes placement necessary, but who will continue to have such conflicting feelings about their situation, no matter with what preparation, that they will be unable to follow the course and adhere to the rules, even after they have been mutually agreed upon. A continuous, coöperative, harmonious relationship between the agency and the parent is to be desired, but it is not always continuously attained. We can weather the ups and downs, however, so long as our service is focused from the beginning on helping parents in behalf of their children.

What do we need to know and what do we need to do to help children in behalf of themselves? A few years ago we were concerned with trying to know about everything that had happened to the child prior to our contact with him; for we knew that a child's experiences, his affectual relationships, together with his own constitutional factors, which were predetermined at birth, combine to mold his personality structure. We knew then, as we know today, that the sum total of these things had gone into making what the child is now. Because of our need to feel more secure in our attempts to help a child, and because in a certain sense we mistook knowledge for skill, and because we were often unrelated to the central core of the problem, the placement of the child, we became lost in a maze of activity in obtaining material which would help us understand the reasons for the behavior of the child today. We needed to know as much as possible, not only about his life, but about the lives of his parents and his parents' parents. Our search for knowledge was often at the expense of our becoming related to the child around this question of placement and of helping him accept this new experience with our support.

We do not feel now that we need to know everything about a child's past, but rather only that part which will enable us to choose the placement best suited to his needs, and which will help us treat the emotional problems created for the child and the parent in the process of placement. As the parent discusses his problem with us, we will learn about the affectional relationships in the home, and how the child has reacted to these in terms of his own behavior. We will understand what strengths the home has had for the child and what deprivation he has suffered, and at what age. We know that the emotional relationships of earliest childhood have profound effects on the personality structure. A child who has suffered severe emotional deprivation at an early age, has never had a loving parent with whom he could identify, will find it difficult to love another. His aggression often becomes externalized, for he has nothing to lose by his hostile and aggressive acts. This form of behavior becomes his only means of releasing his hostility and of gaining attention for himself. He becomes a problem in placement, for he will continue to cling psychologically, at least, to the parent who has failed him and will be unable to relate himself to foster parents who would extend love and affection. By knowing these factors we will choose either an institution, or a foster home where the foster parents can be less demanding of affection. We consider institutional placement for a child with problems which would prevent him from relating to foster parents and for older children who are normally wanting to break away from parental ties, because by the very nature of an institution the relationships of the child and the adults are on a more impersonal level. When the own parent is able to share his place in the child's life with another, we normally consider foster home placement for the child under adolescence who has received love from parents at an early age, for he will be better able to form a relationship with substitute parents.

Once we accept the child, however, our focus with the parent and with the child is on the placement process itself. We have found that a parent can be helped to initiate this movement, with a child old enough to comprehend language. The child has a right to know what is going to happen to him and why. This knowledge can best come first from the parent who has made the decision and who will continue to share responsibility for his child, even after he has given him to the agency. The parent then shares in this process from the

beginning, and the child knows that his parent has asked us to help in finding a place for him to live. Thus we first meet the child as an agency whose purpose is to extend help, and not as one who for some unknown reason is planning to separate him completely from his parent.

The worker's relationship with the child begins at this point through the medium of the placement function of the agency. We must be comfortable in our feeling that placement is our business; that at this time, placement is necessary for this child; and, finally, that we are assuming responsibility for what comes next. We know that removing a child from his own home is fraught with meaning for both the child and the parent. For the child it is a frightening experience, for he is losing the only security he has ever had; he is leaving the known for the unknown. How can we guide him over such uncharted seas? He can neither comprehend the full significance of going into a foster home, nor can he work with us on the total process. We have learned, however, that he can understand and work with us on one part at a time. Thus removing a child from his own home is not accomplished in one step, but in several. It is only as we are able to define these steps and work on them individually with the child that he becomes free to accept or rebel against what is happening to him. Our aim now is, not to make this as easy for ourselves as possible, by denying that the child has feeling about what is happening to him, nor to place him hurriedly so that he can escape the pain, but rather to recognize that he does have feeling, and to give him whatever time he needs really to come to grips with the meaning of this experience. The child's participation, then, becomes possible as he and the worker together take one step at a time, the worker helping the child to express his feeling in all its negative aspects. Thus the practical, mechanical steps toward placement can become the means of helping the child to accept the plan. The repetitive use of language, especially with younger children, and the element of time itself are both used by the worker in preparing a child for placement. When a child can affirm that he is going into his new home, we know that he is ready. It is through this kind of participation with the worker that the child gains strength to enter this new experience.

Although the agency assumes complete responsibility for choosing a particular home for a particular child, we know that the parent as

well as the child has a very real interest in knowing something about the home and the people in it. How this is accomplished will depend on the circumstances in each situation. The details of the home will certainly be discussed with both the parent and the child. A visit to the home prior to placement may or may not be a part of the plan. If this is done it should only occur after the child has indicated that he is ready to move into the actual placement situation, for then he will be able to use the experience in a positive way. When it is done at this time, we have found that this procedure is particularly helpful with older children who are going into an institution.

Once the child is in the foster home, the worker who represents the agency has the responsibility of maintaining a casework relationship with the child, with the parent, and with the foster parents—relationships which will often be delicately balanced, but which will be focused on the child's adjustment in the foster home, and subsequently directed toward replacement if that should become necessary, or toward the return of the child to his own home when this is indicated. Thus we see placement as a long, continuous, sustained process from the time the parent first makes an application until the child is discharged from care.

Are special skills called for in this service? If so, how are they developed? Just as the acceptance of agency function made for more responsible casework, I believe that specialization within that function will increase our knowledge and develop our skill. Competence in every profession depends on the acquiring of a body of knowledge plus the ability to use this knowledge in a helpful way. In the last decade considerable literature has been built up in relation to the placement of children. These contributions to our further understanding of the casework process in relation to specific problems could only have come from those practitioners who were able to work in the area of their special interests within the limits of a well-defined agency function. But increased knowledge and understanding can have only a paralyzing effect on those workers who are called upon to perform every service in an undifferentiated multiple-function agency. Skill is the thing for which we are striving. This is developed in the casework field, as it is in every other area of human endeavor, as a worker is able to use her knowledge over and over again in relation to specific problems, and to test her skill against the results obtained within the area of a well-defined service.

I have dealt with the problem of placement as it relates to a specific agency function; I have dealt with process as it relates to the giving of help; and with specialized services as a way of developing skill. It seems incongruous that we should have accepted the idea of agency function and yet should discuss joint and differential responsibilities in so clearly defined an area as the placement of children. Can the answer be within ourselves? Do we want to be all things to all people? Can it be that by giving up something we would feel less adequate? Or that by giving up much we would have to work more responsibly on little? Or is it a distrust of services other than our own? If children's and family agencies do have joint responsibility in this area it is that of recognizing each other's services, of defining our own functions, of developing our own skills, of accepting our own limitations, of recognizing a parent's inalienable right to make a decision for himself so that when a referral is indicated it can be done easily with the full confidence that our client will be better served by a worker in the agency whose function it is to extend help in the area of his recognized need.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF JUVENILE COURT AND PUBLIC AGENCY IN CHILD WELFARE

By Alice Scott Nutt

BEFORE WE CAN CONSIDER the juvenile court and the public welfare agency in the child welfare program and their relation to each other, we must understand how each reached its present status. Only against this background can we hope to understand the present and anticipate the future. The principle basic to our juvenile court laws is that children under the jurisdiction of the court are wards of the state, subject to its discipline and entitled to its protection. Therefore, the attention of the court is directed primarily toward understanding and meeting the child's needs.

Undoubtedly, the founders of the first juvenile courts did not foresee their development as children's agencies responsible for administrative and treatment, as well as judicial, functions. To carry out its task of helping and protecting rather than punishing the child, the new court had to develop new procedures. Because community resources were inadequate, the court also had to sponsor the development of services and resources for the study and treatment of children's problems. Among these were casework service, detention care, and clinical service.

Shortly after the first juvenile courts were established, measures were enacted which provided for care of children in their own homes at public expense. These required social services for their effective administration. Because they were the only public agencies directly responsible for dependent children, and because they had their own social services, the juvenile courts were called upon to administer these new measures.

There was perhaps even less logic in the court's assumption of other responsibilities, although here too the lack of resources was a major factor. Sharply aware of community conditions prejudicial to the well-being of children and of the limited resources for meeting their needs, looked to by the community as the agency responsible

for all children needing care, protection, and treatment, the court extended its activities—activities which ranged from making social adjustments in cases when the need was not for judicial action but for casework service, and placing children in foster homes, to giving leadership in community organization for the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

The development of the public welfare agency came much later, but the concept that public agencies should provide social services for children was not new. Even before the first juvenile courts were established, a few states authorized care of dependent and neglected children in county homes or state schools, or through lay boards. By 1932 twelve states had permissive or mandatory legislation authorizing counties to create local welfare agencies with broad responsibilities for children.

The enactment of the Social Security Act in 1935 authorized Federal funds for public assistance to various groups of dependent persons, including children, and for assistance to state public welfare agencies "in establishing, extending and strengthening, especially in predominantly rural areas, public welfare services for the protection and care of homeless, dependent, and neglected children, and children in danger of becoming delinquent." Now every state and territory and the District of Columbia have recognized in law their responsibility for the welfare of children. Every state has made provisions for carrying out the functions of child welfare. In at least half the states there are now county welfare agencies, and most of these agencies have broad responsibilities for services to children who are dependent, neglected, or handicapped.

While this development of the court and the agency was proceeding, our concept of what constitutes a comprehensive child welfare program was forming. Ideally, the needs of children are met first of all by their families; then by services furnished for all children in the community. Because of home conditions or individual difficulties, some children need special care beyond that which their families or the community can give.

Services to children must be easily available. They must be found in every community, urban and rural alike. They should be available to all agencies who deal directly with delinquency, dependency, and neglect. They are also needed by agencies that deal with situations before they become critical.

Similarly, an adequate child welfare program must include provision for care in foster family homes and in institutions. It may be temporary care, such as detention pending court action, or shelter during a family emergency, or care pending study and observation; or it may be placement on a more or less permanent basis.

No program for meeting children's needs is complete without child guidance service for the study and treatment of children with special problems of personality and behavior; group work and recreational programs that afford children opportunity to develop as social beings; and comprehensive community programs for the care and training of the mentally defective. Basic to any program for children are adequate community resources. These must include adequate programs of public assistance, health service, and medical care, as well as other programs designed to conserve family life and to maintain wholesome community conditions. Community organization is an important aspect of any child welfare program. Exploration of the nature and extent of children's needs and evaluation of the resources for meeting them are basic to sound community planning.

Few if any communities have a child welfare program of this breadth. Treatment services and facilities in many places are inadequate, unevenly distributed, or even entirely lacking. One type of service, as, for example, casework treatment for children in their own homes, may be less available than another service, such as foster home placement. Nevertheless, we must chart our course toward a program of varied resources and services that complement and supplement each other. This is essential if we are to meet problems whose causes are multiple and interrelated.

What, then, are the implications of the way in which the juvenile court and the public welfare agency have grown? What is their responsibility in a comprehensive child welfare program? What are to be their function and their future development? What should be their relationship to each other?

In defining the functions of the court and the agency let us consider what is appropriate to their legal base and organizational structure rather than what they are now doing or are equipped to do. Let us recognize that some courts perform many functions, judicial and nonjudicial, while others operate within a limited area and according to clearly defined policies of relationships with other agencies. Let us recognize also that some courts are poorly staffed and ill equipped.

whereas other courts have personnel and facilities that bear comparison with the best social agencies. Let us admit that although some public welfare agencies have accepted broad responsibility for the care and protection of children, others have confined their activities to specific programs, such as foster care. Let us recognize also that Federal, state, and local funds are inadequate to provide services to the extent needed. Let us admit that lack of trained personnel has retarded the programs both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Now let us proceed on the premise that every social institution has a specific function which it is peculiarly fitted to perform and that it has areas within which it can operate most effectively. Acceptance of the resulting limitations makes for effective operation and furnishes the basis for coöperative relationships between agencies. In function, structure, and procedure the juvenile court is first and foremost a court. Its legal responsibility is established specifically by law. It has authority to make far-reaching decisions in regard to the legal status of a child. It can terminate or suspend parental rights when the interests of the child or the community require it. It can enforce obligations to and from individuals.

The manner in which individuals come to its attention differs noticeably from the way in which social agencies receive their clients. Seldom do they come voluntarily. Certain procedures must be followed which, although socialized, are still court procedures. The relationship of the judge to individuals before him differs markedly from that of the head of the administrative agency. The judge not only directs a staff working with individuals in a treatment capacity, but himself deals directly with these individuals in a judicial capacity.

The public welfare agency is an administrative and social agency. Its legal responsibility for children is generally described in a broad statement of duties authorizing it to administer child welfare activities, to promote the enforcement of laws for the protection of specified groups of children, or to take the initiative in matters involving the interests of children. It cannot impose obligations or enforce orders. It cannot exercise the rights of parents or guardians unless these are given to it under legal procedure. Its authority, if that term should be used, is inherent in the professional knowledge and skills of its staff. Its legal responsibility and structure are such that it can use this knowledge and these skills to develop, extend, and strengthen

social services to individual children and to conserve and strengthen family life through adequate programs of assistance implemented by social services. It can do this by making basic social services available to children within its own organization; by making such services available to other community agencies; and by stimulating the development of services in appropriate agencies.

We therefore see the juvenile court exercising functions primarily judicial and law enforcing in nature. These include making decisions affecting the legal status of a child; decisions in controversies regarding custody; and decisions affecting parental rights when the child's behavior or the conditions under which he lives appear to be such that organized society as represented by the court has to intervene.

We see the public welfare agency exercising functions primarily administrative in nature. This means providing social services for children who, by reason of personality problems or living conditions, need help in order to develop into well-adjusted adults. Specifically, it includes making social studies, planning for the care of children, and carrying on treatment; placing children in foster care and for adoption; developing resources for care and treatment; administering group care facilities; and furnishing leadership in community organization for child welfare.

Once these definitions of the functions of the juvenile court and of the public welfare agency are accepted, what are the implications for the future development of each and for their relationship to each other?

Concentration of the juvenile court upon judicial functions would make possible the realization of its potentialities as a socialized court. It would make possible still further development along socialized lines of the procedures which are an inherent part of the court process, but which the juvenile court has done much to modify in the light of its understanding of, and concern for, children and families.

This division of function would be reflected in the types of cases with which they would deal and in the nature of their responsibility in certain of these. Children would not be accepted by the court—using that term in the broad sense to include the probation office—solely for the purpose of giving them casework service. The court would no longer carry cases unofficially, supervising children over long periods of time without legal action ever being taken, as is frequently true now. Here we distinguish between the carrying of cases

unofficially and disposition by the intake department of the court. The adjustment of minor problems at the point of intake and the referral to social agencies of cases requiring service but not court action are a part of the intake process. As the court, police, and social agencies jointly develop policies of intake and working relationships and interpret their respective functions to the community many of these cases would go immediately to the appropriate social agencies.

Of particular interest is the handling of cases involving protective work—social services through which society expresses its concern for children who are abused or neglected or in moral danger. This is one of the oldest of specialized services in behalf of children, having been initiated by the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1875. The early protective agencies emphasized law enforcement and the prosecution of adults responsible for the ill-treatment or neglect of children.

With the passage of the years has come a greater understanding of the needs and behavior of individuals and a greater mastery of the skills required to help individuals to change their behavior. As a result, emphasis has shifted from prosecution to the casework approach, which seeks both to protect the child and to help parents with their problems. Relatively few parents really want to harm their children; despite the actions of some parents, they may actually be deeply concerned about their offspring. Others are unable to meet their responsibilities because of physical or mental incapacity or because of emotional disturbances. The use of casework lessens the need for authoritative action. It also makes less sharp the distinction between protective agencies and other child care agencies.

These changes in the character of protective services are responsible for the re-examination which they are now receiving. Is there a need for a private agency to function primarily for the purpose of invoking legal authority for the protection of children? As the protective aspects of all social services to children are recognized and as the use of casework skills replaces reliance upon prosecution, there is little need for designating certain services as "protective" or for a separate agency to perform them.

Certainly, every community should have a place to which those seeking protection for a child may go. Because of its broad responsibility for children, the public welfare agency has the main responsibility for accepting complaints. This does not mean, however, that

other social agencies have no obligations for the protection of children. Any agency which has accepted a child or family for service is obligated to protect the child, even if it means court action.

Here an understanding of the differences between the responsibility of the court and of the agency is especially important. Although both court and public welfare agency have a legal base for their operation, the agency and the community must distinguish between its responsibility for inquiring into such situations and offering social services and the authority exercised by the court.

Frequently, there has been confusion regarding the role of the court. When an agency is unable to achieve results by casework methods it may feel that the court should order the family to do what the agency thinks it should do. Sometimes agencies fail to understand what constitutes evidence on which a court can act.

Both the nature and use of evidence, and the responsibility of the court for acting in a judicial capacity, with concern for the rights of all involved, must be clearly understood. Courts and agencies need to get together to prevent such misunderstandings. Each has a specific responsibility: the court, to review objectively and impartially situations involving custody and controversy and to safeguard equally the rights of the community, the agency, and the individual; the agency, to render specialized and professional service in its field and make this service available to the court as one of the resources of the community.

Responsibility for the care of dependent children needs to be considered in the light of our definition of functions. Most state laws give the juvenile court jurisdiction in cases of dependent children and authorize it to place orders on local public funds for their care outside their own homes. Under such provisions, children are referred to court for commitment to public as well as to private agencies, even when no question of custody or guardianship is involved. This procedure dates back to the time when the court, as the only public agency caring for children, had to pass upon the expenditure of public funds. Newer legislation recognizes that the public welfare department is also a public agency responsible for the expenditure of public funds. Public welfare agencies are authorized to accept, without court commitment, children who need care away from their own homes and to expend public money in their behalf. If need for action with regard to custody or guardianship arises, the agency can take the

case into court even while it continues to carry responsibility for care and service.

Division of judicial and administrative functions between the juvenile court and public welfare agency has implications for the allocation of responsibility for detention care. (I am distinguishing here between detention pending action by the police or juvenile court and other types of temporary care.) Sometimes, of course, children are referred to the court for temporary care merely because the court operates the detention facility. But in true detention care there is the element of restraint or protective custody, and the ordering of it intervenes in parental rights.

In the past, detention care was generally accepted as a function of the court. Undoubtedly, the decision to place a child in detention or to release him is a matter for court action. But the management and operation of a detention facility are administrative functions and as such are appropriately performed by the public welfare agency. This point of view is gaining recognition.

Review of legislation relating to detention care reveals that, although provisions relating to such care generally appear in juvenile court laws, the actual responsibility for maintaining the facility usually is given to the local government, that is, to the county commissioners or corresponding officials. Specific responsibility given the court for detention care, other than for admission and release, generally concerns the appointment and supervision of staff.

Prior to the development of local public welfare agencies, town and county officials performed many functions related to the general welfare, including relief, care of the aged and the needy sick, and the like. The local welfare agency now performs many of these functions as the agent of local government. It seems logical, therefore, that it should also administer the detention facility. Responsibility for admission and release should remain with the court. There should be close coöperation between the two.

Another area for which division of functions has major implications is the use of casework skills in services to children who properly come before the court. These probation services include preliminary investigation to determine whether the child can safely remain in his own home pending further study and court action; arranging for detention or other temporary care if it has been ordered by the

court; social study of the child's situation to aid the judge in deciding what action to take; and, if the child is placed on probation or under supervision by the court, helping him and his family to understand the situation and take the necessary steps, or to modify the behavior or conditions which were responsible for bringing the child to the attention of the court.

Perhaps at some time in the future the court may have caseworkers on its staff to handle intake and to make social investigations, which may be regarded as part of the judicial process, prior to court disposition. Responsibility for treatment would still be turned over to administrative social agencies. Under such a system, children needing casework treatment would be referred by the court to such agencies, just as children needing group care in a controlled environment are now committed to institutions. This concept has not, however, been generally accepted.

State laws authorize appointment of probation staff for practically all juvenile courts, either to the staff of the court or to a separate probation department serving one or more courts in a specific area. A few states provide service through a state agency. Others make the local public welfare agency responsible for furnishing service. Nevertheless, many juvenile courts, especially in rural areas, are without such service, or have inadequate service. Often the number of cases is too small to require full-time service, and it is difficult to employ professionally qualified staff on a part-time basis.

Child welfare workers, generally attached to the local public welfare agency, have been giving service to the juvenile courts in many rural communities. They have been making social studies prior to court action. They have been doing casework with children on probation. This trend may be expected to continue. For the present, it will probably be noticeable chiefly in rural areas, although there is no fundamental reason why it could not occur in more populous areas. If the results of such an arrangement are to be mutually satisfactory, sound principles and clear-cut policies must govern the relationship. What some of these should be, may be suggested now. Many of them will have to be worked out through joint experimentation.

The judge of the juvenile court and the administrator of the public welfare agency to whose staff the child welfare worker is attached should take responsibility for agreeing upon the nature, extent, and

amount of service and the administrative arrangements under which it will be furnished. Once the obligation is assumed by the welfare agency, the service should be adequate to discharge it.

It should be decided specifically whether the worker will handle all cases coming to the court or only some of them, and in the latter event which cases; whether the worker will give full time or part time; what his responsibilities and duties will be with respect to the intake of cases from the police and other sources; and whether the agency will carry responsibility for detention care. To whom the worker will be administratively responsible and from whom he will receive technical supervision will have to be decided. The way in which special problems can be met will need to be considered. Should the worker be appointed an officer of the court, or retain his identity as a children's worker from the public welfare agency? Should the social records kept by the worker be regarded as court or agency records, and who should have access to them?

Clearly, we do not have the answers to many of these questions. Some of these questions have been faced by probation departments organized independently of the courts. Others are similar to those faced by any caseworker operating within the framework of an agency whose function is not primarily casework. Finding solutions to these problems presents a challenge to both court and agency. It calls for mutual understanding, forbearance, and good will.

Achievement of a well-rounded child welfare program and the growth of the court and public welfare agency within this framework must come gradually. Of course, objectives cannot be reached immediately or entirely, but if we see them clearly we can move steadily forward.

We can view the possibility of combining within a single court jurisdiction all types of children's cases and cases involving family relationships. In most states these cases are now divided among several courts. This centralization of jurisdiction, especially if it is accompanied by an allocation of treatment functions to social agencies, has many potentialities. Broader application of the social procedures which the juvenile court has developed would be possible. The ideal of the family court—dealing with the family as a unit—would be realized. Judges would be selected on the basis of their special qualifications. Still looking ahead to the future, we can see the emergence of a broad concept of public responsibility for the

well-being of all the people, and the acceptance by the public welfare agency of responsibility for laying the groundwork of a sound system of community social services. In such a system, programs of economic aid and of child welfare services would be essential and integral parts, but only parts. Social services would be available regardless of economic need, not only to children, but to all who needed them.

DISCUSSION

By E. Marguerite Gane

I DO NOT AGREE THAT PROBATION AND DETENTION are or should be independent of the court's function or of its jurisdiction. Both programs, probation and detention, operate under the limits and statutory specifications set for the court and should be integrated with the other court procedures; especially since an element of authority is inherent in both probation and detention, and this authority stems from the court itself. This authority should be assumed directly and not delegated. Detention facilities usually require security features which should only be provided by a law enforcement agency. Anything which has to do directly with the court's function at the time the child comes in to court, while he is under its jurisdiction, and until a disposition is made, belongs to the court.

I have also a different concept of protective work. Alice Scott Nutt says that "certainly, every community should have a place to which those seeking protection for a child may go." I agree with that. She goes on to say, "Because of its broad responsibility for the children, the public welfare agency has the main responsibility for accepting complaints." I see protective work, not as an undifferentiated casework service, but as a specialized one. The acceptance of complaints of neglect carries with it the obligation to perform the kind of service best suited to produce results. Miss Nutt's emphases are on the points of likeness between this work and other forms of child care. I believe that protective work involves as great differences as the fields of adoption and foster home care; that its focus is on work with parents; that it requires knowledge of the use of authority as a part of casework (not apart from it); and that this specialized type of case-

work service should be available to families so that a large majority of them may have an opportunity to receive help in modifying their behavior in relation to care of their children without having to go to court. I also believe that court action when necessary is a part of the casework process and not a substitute for it, just as I believe that authority is a part of protective casework and not separate from it. If child-protective work is administered as a specialized casework service, it need not be given by a separate agency and can be given under either public or private auspices. Protective work begins with, and focuses upon, the parents, but it is as different from other forms of family casework as is adult probation or foster care of adolescents. There is danger here, as there has been in the past in relation to other types of child care, in the willingness of agencies, both public and private, to assume responsibility for a function without recognizing the differences and the values in the use of special professional skills. Protective work was never intended to be punitive, and it requires a different casework approach, different methods, and a different setting from the kind of service which is voluntarily sought. It is the part of child welfare to which the casework method has been most recently applied, and these special skills are not generally recognized.

Assuming that the juvenile court withdraws from the child care field, can the public child care agency assume total responsibility for meeting the needs of all children and provide placement, adoption service, child guidance, protective work, and other special services? What is the role of the private agency? Can communities weather the changes of administration which suddenly scrap well-established programs because of ignorance, disagreement, or a different concept of social responsibility? Does the establishment of advisory boards for public departments offer enough insurance against such possibility? Or does the existence of groups of private agencies with experience in the operation of special phases of social work help the community to understand and work for good standards? Now that the public field has awakened to the enormity of its task and has a better opportunity to perform it, it is a good time for the private agencies to subject themselves to analysis, gather their full strength to join hands with the public, and function in a way which adequately sustains and expedites the entire structure of services to children.

The two key agencies in any plan are the children's court and the public child care service. A realignment of their functions in accord-

ance with the general principles outlined by Miss Nutt would sharply affect the whole pattern of child welfare and would stimulate a healthy reallocation of responsibilities and activities among all agencies, public and private.

SUPERVISION AND LICENSING OF INSTITUTIONS AND HOMES FOR CHILDREN

By Virginia Fenske

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATE to provide legal and administrative structure for protecting the quality of care given children in institutions and foster homes is no longer controversial. However, we are greatly in need of appraisal of our practices, and of our legal structure for licensing and supervision of children's agencies and institutions. Though the first legislation giving responsibility to a state agency for licensing children's institutions was passed in Massachusetts in 1892, and though all White House Conferences since 1909 have given consideration to the licensing program, it is one of the areas of child welfare practice that has not received full attention. This was forcibly brought to our attention during the war when there were increased demands for care of children away from their own homes and many states did not have adequate legislation to safeguard children needing such care. Even though the war period gave impetus to the passage of licensing legislation in some states, the need for evaluation and consideration of the subject was reaffirmed in the fall of 1946 when a series of meetings of state public welfare directors and supervisors of child welfare was called by the United States Children's Bureau. In the report of these conferences we find the following comment:

The state agencies expressed the need for further study and analysis of the purpose and functioning of licensing in relation to the total child-welfare program. They urged the Children's Bureau to take leadership in developing principles and standards for licensing laws and programs similar to those developed for adoption.¹

What are the components of a good licensing law that will provide for the protection of children cared for by voluntary children's in-

¹ *Child Welfare Moves Forward* (Federal Security Agency, United States Children's Bureau, Child Welfare Reports No. 2 [1947]), p. 15.

stitutions and agencies, foster homes, day nurseries, and maternity homes?

1. A good law should be flexible to insure sound administration, yet definite in its provisions so that the extent of jurisdiction and definitions within the law are clearly understood.

2. It should provide coverage which protects all children coming under care of children's agencies and institutions, and independent foster homes. In drafting licensing legislation, states have often permitted exemptions of certain agencies or groups of children, such as boarding schools, homes caring for less than a certain number of children, homes under the sponsorship of churches. A good law will not contain exemptions. The child receiving inadequate care in a foster home needs protection as much as do a group of children living away from their own home. Exemption of boarding schools from the law without clarification or definition provides an opportunity for evasion where certain institutions cannot meet minimum requirements.

3. A good law should provide for approval by a state agency of the original incorporation of children's agencies and institutions and of all amendments to their incorporation. In addition, it will require examination of original bylaws and periodic examination of bylaws as changes occur. Such provisions are especially valuable since they provide a method of informing the state agency promptly when a new children's agency or institution is contemplated. In review of the agency's application, if it proves unsatisfactory, the state then has the opportunity of redirecting or discouraging the project before it begins operation. In regard to existing agencies, the review provides a means of continuous evaluation of operational procedures.

4. Provision should be made for a designated state administrative agency to set standards both for the approval of new agencies and as a criterion of operation for existing agencies, giving supervisory authority to assure that these are carried out. This supervision will include authority to visit agencies, examine records, and require statistical and financial accounting.

The licensing law in the state of Washington contains a listing of standards of operation which must be evaluated and prove satisfactory before a new agency is approved. We have found these invaluable for interpretation of the law to new groups and in formulation of rules and regulations. The law provides that the director of the

Department of Public Welfare shall have reasonable and satisfactory assurance on the following points:

- a) The good character and intentions of the applicant
- b) The present and prospective need of the service intended by the proposed organization with no unnecessary duplication of approved existing service
- c) Provision for employment of capable, trained, or experienced workers
- d) Sufficient financial backing to insure effective work
- e) The probability of permanence in the proposed organization or institution
- f) Methods used and disposition of the children that will be in their best interests and that of society
- g) Approval of articles of incorporation and related bylaws
- h) Need for establishment of such an organization in interests of the public welfare

This gives opportunity for a thorough evaluation of new incorporated agencies since articles of incorporation for children's agencies and institutions may not be filed officially by the Secretary of State until they have met the above requirements as evaluated by the State Division for Children.

5. A good licensing law should contain a penalty clause for violation with provision for initiation of legal action in cases of illegal operation and malpractice. This penalty clause should be stringent enough so that prosecution can be effective when necessary.

6. The law should make provision for rejection of a new application and for discontinuing a facility which does not meet standards. In addition, there should be provision for the applicant to request fair hearing by the courts on decisions made by the licensing agency.

If these six factors are included in a licensing law, it should make possible more adequate protection for children, coördination of public and private services, and a unified approach toward the development of new services.

Given a sound legal base for administration of a licensing program, what does the public expect from it? Dwight H. Ferguson states that "one of the basic purposes of licensing is to insure against certain risks which we as individuals are not able to assume."² He further

² Dwight H. Ferguson, "Maryland Evaluates Licensing of Agencies and Institutions," *Public Welfare*, IV, No. 10 (October, 1946), 227.

states that "the purpose of licensing is to protect the child by identification of these risks by establishing safeguards to meet them."³ This expresses very well what the public regards as the basic purposes in licensing. Similarly, the patient who enters a hospital expects that certain safeguards in regard to medical practice have been provided through national standard-setting agencies and/or through state regulation. Evaluation of hospital and medical practice is not within the average person's area of competence. Likewise, a parent who wishes to enter his child in a day nursery wants to know that he is leaving his child in a place which provides adequate physical protection so far as health, fire, sanitation, and nutrition are concerned, as well as a good program of child development and training.

It is generally agreed that administration of the licensing law should be the responsibility of the state agency concerned with the welfare of children. This is desirable since it facilitates coordination between public and voluntary programs. The licensing staff, as a part of the public welfare department, becomes familiar with public needs and resources—knowledge which can be utilized in planning division of field with private agencies. This staff can also be expected to give leadership so that private agency services are utilized wisely. For example, unless the basic public children's services are provided by the public agency, the private agency will be continuously called upon to meet these unmet needs. As a consequence, the voluntary agency will be retarded in the development of new and specialized areas of service. This has been shown in practice when restrictive residence requirements or inadequate budgets have been provided for public welfare.

The method of staffing the licensing program has varied in the states, but usually one of the following two methods have been used: (1) personnel is employed on the state-staff; the program is considered state operated, and functions entirely from the state level; (2) field consultants are given responsibility for certification of agencies and institutions in the area of the state which they cover.

A state staff and state-operated program for the purpose of administering the licensing law seem most desirable. Such a staff gains competence in the area of licensing and supervision because this is carried as a total job and not as one segment of another job. Efforts are centered on certification and supervision. The staff is therefore

³ *Ibid.*

able to offer state-wide leadership because of the knowledge of state-wide needs, resources, and agency inter-relationships. It does, however, place a responsibility on this staff for familiarizing other members of the state agency with private agencies and interpreting the licensing process. This is important in such a setup, since the field consultant staff is usually responsible for helping county welfare departments to develop sound working relationships with private agencies on a local level.

Assuming, then, that the licensing administration is placed with the state public welfare department and is carried out on a state-operated basis, what should be planned in regard to staff for the job? Unless the licensing program is adequately staffed so that periodic studies can be made of agencies and institutions to evaluate and gain understanding of their total operation, licenses are issued without a total knowledge of the agency. This gives a false security to the public since the assumption is that approval means knowledge of total agency operation.

"Adequately staffed" means, not only that there is a sufficient number of persons to provide the service, but also that the qualifications of those persons fit them for their responsibilities. These qualifications should include professional training in social work; sufficient experience in social work so that there is knowledge of voluntary and public welfare programs for children and an ability to evaluate casework practice; skills in teaching with both professional and lay groups; and skills in consultation. The staff is required to function in many areas of competence, such as working with boards and other groups; giving technical consultation in the areas of adoption, unmarried parenthood, day nurseries, foster care, and institutional operation; conducting surveys; directing a program of education and interpretation with professional staff and lay groups. Experience in a group setting will be of great value. Most of all, the worker needs an ability to relate to, and get along with, people and needs maturity characterized by sound judgment. The licensing job requires highly skilled personnel and should be compensated and classified in the merit system accordingly.

With good legal structure and knowledge of our basic objectives, what methods can be employed administratively to make our goals most effective? The role of the administrative agency is twofold, educative and authoritative. Through the legal structure, methods of

policing are provided for the protection of children in the event that minimum requirements for their care are not met. Administratively, we enforce our authoritative role through litigation, by which we establish court cases that set precedent for the required performance of agencies; we also obtain opinions from the attorney general to set authoritative precedent. Through establishment of rules and regulations we develop administrative law.

Our major approach to the licensing process should be educative, emphasizing supervision and consultation rather than inspection. We should attempt to develop a working relationship with agencies and institutions in the state, stimulating their interest in good methods of child care so that the process of licensing becomes a mutual working together for certain standards of care for all children.

The relationship to the agencies in a consultative role will depend upon their need for such help and upon the mutual working relationship which is established. There will be agencies which need continuous and regular consultative service and those which have a limited need for it. The first group will comprise the agencies located in a community where there is limited professional leadership and no regular guidance from a national supervising agency. The second group will include those agencies which have both an adequate staff able to give leadership and consultative help available through community councils of social agencies, schools of social work, or other media. Included in this group may be agencies with national private agency affiliations through which consultation can be obtained. The type of consultative help needed should be agreed upon by coordinated planning among the local supervising agency, national private agency, and state licensing agency. For example, one private agency in the state of Washington with national affiliation is visited annually by the national representative, while other administration and supervision are carried on by correspondence. At the time of this visit there is a conference of the state consultant responsible for licensing, the national private agency consultant, and the local agency executive to consider mutual problems and objectives. Out of such conferences, agreements are reached regarding consultation service to the local agency and division of responsibility for it.

In its educational role, in addition to consultation, the licensing agency will need to conduct group institutes on child welfare subjects, hold regular group meetings with institutional and agency staff, par-

ticipate in agency surveys, and coöperate with national and local planning groups related to these agencies so that common objectives can be coöordinated.

Another part of the administrative agency's educational responsibility will be in the area of standard setting. Since the applicability of standards will be best known to the voluntary agencies having to meet them, this should be a joint process of the private agencies and the public welfare licensing agency. Mutual participation will promote sound working relationships and development of realistic standards. Agencies are at different levels of development, and standards should relate to this factor. There will be certain minima, based principally upon the physical protection of children under care, which can be required of all agencies. In relation to institutions, for example, this would mean that before certification there would be assurance that state fire and health protection standards had been met; that there was sufficient staff and adequate financing; and that there was a sound community group sponsorship.

Minimum standards will depend upon the state's development, but they should be basic so that any agency in the state could meet at least these requirements. In addition, objectives should be incorporated into the standards which agencies might be expected to reach and which some of them will already have attained. The reason for having the minimum criterion is to establish a base for appraisal of all institutions and agencies. In the event of legal testing, the minimum standards would be in line with generally accepted community practices and would be less subject to legal decision of being inoperable or capricious. In administration, a division between minimum requirements and additional objectives places more emphasis on objectives which the institution wishes to attain instead of on continuous evaluation of an institution or agency in relation to state standards which the licensing agency sees the need to achieve. It prepares the way for the agency to decide what objectives it can meet within a given time. For example, a large congregate institution decided to make some building changes. They were faced with money limitations and a plant which would have to continue in use. In reviewing standards and objectives, it was their decision to follow a three-year plan. In the first year they would replace a laundry which had been destroyed by fire; in the second year they would modernize the dormitories; and in the third year they would add a gymnasium.

Since it was their proposed plan, it had a better chance of being carried out and was not considered something which the state imposed upon them.

In standard setting and general administration of the law coöperative relationships will need to be established with other state departments, including fire, health, education, building authorities, the secretary of state, and the attorney general. These departments should participate in developing rules and regulations along with the agencies covered by the law. Their advisory help will be invaluable in areas related to their technical skill.

Standards will need to be carefully drawn since they become the administrative law which is the legal basis for enforcement by the licensing agency. If the requirements of the administrative agency are challenged, this legal basis will be a defense. For instance, if the administrative agency requires no fund raising prior to certification, it is necessary that this be written into the provisions in order to require it of the proposed organization.

In upholding standards, the agency seeking certification, whether new or one already operating, should be responsible for establishing eligibility. For example, commercial operators of maternity homes and day nurseries should be notified by the licensing agency of their responsibility to apply for a license. After notification, it becomes their duty to secure the license and conform to rules and regulations of the state.

An area where there should be coöordinated effort between the state agency and the agency seeking a certificate of approval is the determination of capacity for an institution. It is accepted practice to include the maximum numerical capacity on a certificate of approval. If this is arrived at with the voluntary agency in relation to the total number of staff, intake policy, financing, and physical space and equipment, the capacity will have more meaning.

We have considered the legal and administrative structure of a state licensing program for children's institutions and agencies. What, then, are the positive gains we can expect from such a program which is legally sound, adequately financed, and staffed so that it can be effectively carried out? The first gain we can expect is the maintenance on a state-wide basis of at least an acceptable standard of care for children with progressive growth toward better standards. Secondly, we can expect further understanding of each other's function

between public and voluntary agencies to the end that sound working relationships are developed and planning for care of children is coördinated. Thirdly, we can expect future development of children's services to move toward wider coverage so that there will be adequate protection to all children in need.

STUDY AND TREATMENT HOMES FOR TROUBLED CHILDREN

By Martin Gula

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STUDY AND TREATMENT HOMES for troubled children has received increasing attention in the last few years, particularly in view of the mounting numbers of disturbed children and adults who come to agency and state hospital doors. The study and treatment home is considered a "quick cure" by some individuals; a substitute for inadequate or essential services by others; a new term for existing or planned institutions; and, finally, and more wisely, as a supplementary and integrated tool in a comprehensive program for children.

In an adequate community program, agencies will be concerned with preventive as well as with treatment measures. One aspect of a preventive service is good basic casework for emotional problems detected and treated in early stages within the home setting. However, not all early problems yield to study and treatment in the child's own home. Caseworkers are frequently confronted with inflexible parents and children whose symptoms persist in spite of casework. The worker inevitably must determine whether a boy's disturbed behavior is predominantly reaction to a family, school, or neighborhood situation or whether it is reaction to disturbing conflicts within the boy himself.

Assuming that the disturbance is externally precipitated, and attempts to treat the child and the existing environment are fruitless, workers are pressed to consider a change of environment. This is provided through the use of foster homes and institutions, depending on certain differentials in the problem and the personality of the child. Various problems, such as enuresis, truancy, stealing, aggression, and withdrawal, have been met and modified in appropriate foster homes and institutions. However, the very same symptoms in other children, emerging from inner disturbances, will not yield even in the best foster homes and institutions. Can the worker arrive at a dif-

ferentiated awareness before too many changes of environment are tried?

Although there are exceptions, and each situation demands its own analysis, caseworkers have learned that disturbed behavior due chiefly to environmental factors tends to emerge usually in response to a specific person or setting and in isolated form. Disturbed behavior due to internal conflicts appears in more than one form and in response to several persons or settings. A child who steals at home, because of the lack of maternal affection and the hostility of a punitive father, may be treated in a foster home, providing the needs the child could not satisfy in his own home can be satisfied in the foster home. To provide a foster mother who is affectionate may not be entirely corrective if the foster father, like the child's own father, is punitive.

Another child, who steals because of inner disturbance on a compulsive basis and takes meaningless articles from a number of persons, may, if the pattern is recent, be placed in a foster home or institution as a therapeutic test, providing he can be supported by casework or psychiatry and providing his stealing can be tolerated in the community.

Nevertheless, certain children cannot be treated in a foster home or in an institution even on a test basis. For these selected children, the study and treatment residence may be used.

What are some of the criteria for selection of disturbed children for the group residence? In our practice, we find that the residence is particularly useful for:

1. *The child who is disturbed and inaccessible to casework treatment.*—This refers particularly to the child who is responding to inner disturbances which have persisted over long periods of time, who cannot respond positively to adults in the casework or foster care role but who can use the immediate treatment in a resident group. We have many children who are too frightened, inarticulate, infantile, and resistive to enable them to make a therapeutic relationship with adults but who do relate at least superficially to other children.

2. *The child whose symptom patterns cannot be tolerated by the foster family, school, or neighborhood.*—We have had children who seemingly without provocation break forth in severe rages in which they smash windows and tear clothes; a girl who compulsively combed her hair twenty times before going to school; children who practice sexual delinquency of a direct nature; a boy whose unexpected asth-

matic attacks were severe; children who had night terrors or set fires; many who have involved stealing patterns; and children with a host of other symptoms.

3. *The child whose symptom patterns need professional observation and treatment.*—We have had children with such symptom patterns as, compulsion neuroses which need careful, controlled observation of precipitating factors; pseudo-defective behavior with elements of disturbance and mental defectiveness that cannot be differentiated or tested in the community; emotional behavior, such as unexplained mood swings, with possible physical basis; and physical behavior with an emotional basis, such as asthmatic attacks, which need careful observation.

4. *The child who cannot relate to the foster family, community, school, or neighborhood.*—This group has included a girl so anxious that she cannot leave her home to attend school; the disturbed boy approaching adolescence and intensifying his aggression toward parent persons; and a girl withdrawing from foster parents, school, and neighborhood groups to such an extent that she was unsatisfying to the foster parents.

We are assuming parenthetically, that certain other groups of disturbed children, such as the feeble-minded, physically crippled, emotionally disturbed on an organic base, advanced delinquent, and advanced psychotic, usually can be diagnosed in the community setting through community resources, and that treatment services directed to their specific needs can be used. It is also assumed that in utilizing a treatment institution to best advantage, the referring caseworker meets certain conditions:

1. The caseworker constantly tries to get the picture behind the symptoms in relation to past and current factors in the child's physical, mental, familial, and social development, necessary for diagnosis and advisable prior to admission.

2. Formulation of diagnosis and treatment plans is considered tentative until it has been tested in the child's own home; in the foster home, as a therapeutic test; or in the treatment residence.

3. Caseworkers who refer children to treatment centers formulate specific reasons for using the residence.

What is the study and treatment home? How does its operation vary in emphasis according to the community need and the sponsoring group?

Our residence, the Evanston Receiving Home of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, is utilized as a diagnostic and treatment center for emotional deviations of children, in a planned residential group under psychiatric direction. The Society is a private, state-wide, nonsectarian, child placing agency caring for 1,835 children, of whom 829 are six years of age or older. It serves the dependent child primarily, with a concurrent group of disturbed children. It uses foster homes and institutions other than its own residence, depending on the needs of particular children. Caseworkers maintain care for the child as long as the youngster is with the agency. Our psychiatric consultant is present at conferences at various points of a youngster's stay with the Society: for diagnostic consultation at intake; during the child's residence in a foster home or in an institution; and if the child is referred to the study and treatment residence. The Evanston Receiving Home is a supplementary and integrated tool in the total program of the Society. It includes two buildings with a capacity for thirty-two boys and girls from six to sixteen years of age. It uses the community schools and other resources. There is an informal dining room, separate living quarters, playrooms, interviewing rooms, and ample yard space for outdoor recreation.

Some residences are established primarily for diagnostic study within a brief period, while others combine diagnostic and treatment services. In both, the group residence is used as a living experience under controlled conditions. Although the staff and children are at first strangers to one another, the setting quickly loses its artificiality. The child uses the staff and other children as parents and siblings. He usually directs onto them those fundamental emotions he directed onto his own parents and other significant persons in his earlier living experience.

In the interaction between staff and children, some residences develop a repressive atmosphere which demands conformance from the child. Some develop the indulgent atmosphere which demands little conformance. Others provide an expressive atmosphere designed to bring out the best in a child. The repressive or indulgent approach can be applied to all in the same manner. The third approach must relate to the boy's or girl's individual emotional needs at a given time. Responding to this approach, some self-indulging children can be helped to impose limits on themselves, others can be encouraged to

relax their severe self-imposed conformity. Children come with differing needs and need differentiated treatment.

Within this expressive atmosphere our practice is to observe as many areas of a child's daily living as will help evaluate his total personality. In all diagnosis the dynamic trends are more important than the static picture. The house staff, recreational workers, and other staff members contribute their observations, particularly in response to the initial reasons for the child's referral and acceptance.

The director records these observations in a "log." Gradually, this recording becomes a comprehensive basis for summarizing behavior trends for the case conference.

The case conference is usually held during the second month and includes the psychiatrist, caseworker, casework supervisor, director of the residence, and the resident house mother. The caseworker prepares a summary of a child's history which includes a tentative diagnostic formulation. The residence staff prepares its summary of the child's current adjustment trends. This includes such areas as physical mobilization; eating habits; feelings about his own parents and siblings; the use the child makes of staff members, and attitudes toward boys and girls; emotional fluctuations; reactions to frustrations; use of time, sleep, and money; detailed information as to the child's response to school, work, and material possessions; his interests; feelings about his caseworker, the treatment process, and his residence in the "home."

The purpose of the conference is to arrive, if possible, at a causal base for the youngster's disturbance: to establish a relationship between the inner needs and the outward symptom picture, and to formulate a treatment plan designed to meet these inner needs. The caseworker reviews her individual interviews, their content, trend, and significance. The director summarizes the trends in the child's behavior in the group, in school, and in the neighborhood. The psychiatric consultant presides over the conference and helps the conferring group formulate diagnostic and treatment plans.

If the child has been referred for a short diagnostic period, the service of the residence may terminate after the conference if it is felt that some other service can better meet his needs. We have had short diagnostic studies of one, two, and three months duration.

If diagnosis indicates that the child's problems are due to inner con-

licts which can be handled constructively in the residence, a treatment plan is carefully elaborated with specific suggestions for the caseworker in handling her interviews, and for the resident staff in handling the child in the residence, in school, and in the neighborhood. Follow-up reviews are held every six or eight weeks to evaluate treatment progress. Some children have remained for two years with us. Throughout this period the caseworker continues her individual weekly interviews with the child and constantly interprets to the house staff developments in his behavior. When treatment is finally concluded, a transition is planned and executed in accordance with the individual child's need for the next stage in treatment. This may be a return of the child to his own family, planning for a foster home, institution for dependents, self-support, or some other living arrangement. On the basis of the study and treatment of the child while in residence, the worker is prepared to choose the type of setting and persons who will best serve the child's needs.

Throughout, the caseworker refers to the "log" for recent observations of the resident staff prior to her interviews and records the implication of interviews which will affect the child's behavior. Interview rooms are provided with a glass panel to prevent interruptions. The rooms adjoin closets filled with play equipment. Workers have used art, clay, dolls, soldiers, music, construction sets, and other media, in accordance with a child's interest and capacity.

Caseworkers see each child at least once a week. With more disturbed children interview frequency is increased. Some caseworkers have more than one child under care at the same time. These workers learn to handle the sibling feelings arising in each child as part of their individual treatment program. The caseworker carries total responsibility for the child, as a staff member of a child placing agency. This responsibility includes: obtaining initial and subsequent history of the child and his family; maintaining relationship with other agencies and resources; clearing with, and interpreting to, the house parents the treatment movement for a particular child; actively treating through interviewing, manipulation of resources, and play therapy; and recording the trends in treatment. In a larger treatment home, part-time psychiatrists may assume some of this direct treatment role.

Although our caseworkers and the psychiatric consultant are not in residence, they do not dissociate themselves from the process occur-

ring in the resident group. They are a part of it and work through it. They recognize that a concept a child gains through the understanding and skill of a caseworker must be relived in experience to enable the child to relinquish old feelings and begin to assimilate new ways of behaving. This ability to re-enact earlier life experiences, which are handled constructively by adults and other children in the residence, is basic to our residence program.

Study and treatment homes will vary in the size, age, composition, and basis of their groups. Our residence is limited to thirty-two children from six to sixteen years of age. They are in groups of eight to twelve. The sexes are separated in their personal living quarters but are free to mix for dining, recreation, and other activities. We are gradually breaking down dormitory space into single and double rooms.

The concept of a planned, constructive group is perhaps as important as casework interviewing in effective study and treatment. Many principles have emerged in the last few years of practice, some of which still need further testing:

1. Ideally, the child, too, should have a therapeutic goal.
2. The greater the speed with which we are able to formulate accurate therapeutic goals, the more effective will be the initial and subsequent handling of a child in a group.
3. Individual interpretation to a child of the group setting and what it means to live in it is important preparation for group treatment. However, group treatment can precede, accompany, or succeed individual treatment.
4. In choosing clientele for a group, developmental rather than chronological age is important.
5. The greater the difference in disturbed behavior patterns of individuals in a group, the more active and understanding the adult in the group must be.
6. The adult must be trained to observe group crosscurrents, understand their effect on individual children, predict the impact of new children, and transfer children who prove consistently injurious to others in the group.
7. Different children in a group make different emotional uses of the adults. Their emotional use of various adults may change from day to day.
8. Any child who desires to remain in a group must adjust some

of his personal way of living to the mores of the group. Initially, he may repress some attitudes and express others; gradually he may express a greater degree of repressed feelings.

9. The degree of permissiveness can be extended in some groups when children are chosen with the foreknowledge that they will modify their aggression.

10. Certain disturbances do not "live well" together. Other disturbances depend on a social group for treatment.

11. A group equilibrium must be maintained. Conflicts are important but should not be continuous. Constructive leadership in the group should be stimulated.

12. The group is a substitute sibling setting, and positive relationships should be stressed. Unwise use of competition can be injurious to many children.

13. Individual needs should determine choice of roommates, dining table grouping, recreation groups, etc.

This group exists within a larger group, the community, which influences its program. If the community schools, stores, churches, and recreational and other resources are used by part or all of the children, this consideration must be evaluated before specific children are admitted. Schools, frequently, will tolerate as much disturbance as they are prepared for prior to admission. Neighborhood groups can be used selectively according to our foreknowledge of the group and the needs of our child. A residence which depends on community resources may have to modify its program somewhat, but it enjoys the coterie of specialists so indispensable to treating disturbed children—psychiatrists, psychologists, medical specialists, educational tutors—as well as proximity to referring agencies, hospitals, clinics, transportation, churches, and other resources.

To the extent possible, the residence should integrate its own children with neighborhood children, as they show readiness and capacity for it. Resident children should be able to bring in community friends, adolescent girls and boys should be free to invite their "dates," and there should be mixed group parties when children can utilize the experience. Our staff members participate in local parent-teacher groups, councils of social agencies, youth councils, and other community organizations. In this sense the staff is also part of the community. The residence has its own local community board and community chest.

A resident program for diagnosis and treatment of disturbed children must depend on specific qualified staff to maintain its function. In our program the resident staff includes a director, secretary, three full-time housemothers, a housefather, two assisting housemothers, and several university students who receive room and board in return for sixteen weekly hours of help with the recreation program. From the community we have organized a volunteer men's group to give shop instruction, a women's group to give instruction in cooking, and Northwestern University students to provide art, music, drama, knitting, and crafts assistance on a planned and individualized basis. Completing the paid staff are a handyman, cook, and serving assistant. The budget for staff salaries accounts for at least half of the total annual expenditure.

The first key person in the program is the psychiatrist, who through case conferences and reviews, attended by resident staff, indirectly influences the atmosphere that pervades the entire residence. By integrating all staff efforts toward consistent treatment of a single child, there is gradually developed a therapeutic teamwork among the staff.

The second key person is the director of the residence. The director should be trained in social work, psychiatry, education, or medicine. The writer has found that his background of social group work, psychiatric casework, and professional social work training has helped him to understand the application of casework and group therapy in treatment of disturbed children, and helped him to integrate function, community, plant, program, personnel, and finances to implement the service for children. A sustaining leadership rather than an authoritative personality is desirable in the director.

The third key person is the substitute parent, who must be a mature adult whose emotional patterns can be watched and evaluated for the child's reacting behavior. He or she must be trained to observe behavior objectively, participate in psychiatric consultations, jointly reach diagnosis and a treatment plan, and react to daily behavior in relation to a framework of diagnostic and treatment dynamics. They should be able to give proportionate warmth and firmness to youngsters relative to the different needs of different children. They should be able to handle objectively and constructively such behavior as cursing, threats, projected blame, destructiveness, stealing, and the gamut of irregularities that surround disturbed children.

Each of our houseparents is college trained. One has an advanced

degree in education. All have had training in casework or in social group work. Such training is helpful, but the basic need still is for a mature, flexible person who can respond to children's behavior on the basis of a professional plan.

All other staff members, paid or volunteer, must be persons who will be mature enough to contribute to the total treatment atmosphere. The cook, for example, should not only be a good cook, but should enjoy children and be ready to accept some demands and disturbance from them.

The program cannot be a mass program but must be broken down as far as is feasible to individual needs. A mass dormitory, large dining table, and large group activities will not reach many of the children. A basic organized framework is necessary for all children, but there must be flexibility within it. Our differentiated program provides play and construction materials to help in draining anxiety and restoring self-confidence. We provide a woodworking shop, indoor and outdoor athletic equipment, art supplies, classical and jive music, sewing, and various other activities. A child has ample opportunity to be alone with himself if it is necessary. One boy works with puppets, another is an amateur magician, a third carves miniature figures, a fourth collects stamps, a fifth collects classical records.

Each child has his room or a part of a shared room which is his for clothing, books, toys, and the many objects that go with growing up. Children like to putter a bit with their own possessions in their room before retiring. Clothing is individual; mail is personal. Throughout all their experiences we hope our youngsters feel that they, as individuals, count. They should be proud of their "home," make social attachments within it and within the community, and come back to visit with pleasure. If there are laughter, constructive use of adults, a happy group, and a minimum of rules, there probably is a constructive matrix for treating these disturbed youngsters. And within this matrix we try, not only to eliminate symptoms, but to eliminate the inner need for the symptom.

It should be recognized that the study and treatment home for disturbed children is a new tool. As such it will need testing under various conditions and with many children before exact values can be proposed scientifically. However, we have learned that:

1. The study home cannot stand alone; it must be interlocked with the use of the child's own home, foster home, institutions, and other

community services, depending on the changing needs of the child at different periods.

2. There are no quick "cures" except for very mild or recent disturbances, or those related to specific environment.

3. One cannot change an institution's title to a "study home" without complying with the conditions previously enumerated.

4. This specialized service may be regarded as expensive only if one ignores the alternative expense of foster home replacements and maintaining seriously disturbed children later in state hospitals, or as neurotic and delinquent adults in the community. Study homes have estimated that annual costs average from \$1,500 to \$3,000 per child annually, depending on size, staff, etc.

We know that the residence expands and deepens our knowledge of each child we serve, both on a short-term diagnostic basis and on a longer term treatment basis. This understanding of the child, obtained in a controlled setting, provides for some children a sounder foundation for diagnostic and treatment formulation, treatment testing, and actual treatment progress than could be obtained in any other setting. The quality of this treatment progress, in some instances, is markedly accelerated. For example, we are preparing Harold, a nine-year-old boy, for foster care. He came to us two years ago with thirteen symptoms including burying a cat alive and dropping another into a burning incinerator, tearing his clothes in rages, running away, setting fires, truanting, marked reading and mathematical retardation, constant enuresis, periodic soiling, physical beating of other children, and inability to accept limitations. At this time there is sufficient internal integration to enable Harold to perform adequately in the school and community and in all his social relationships.

If this example of qualitative change can be accomplished on a quantitative basis and tested for a period in after care, then the study and treatment residence for disturbed children can certainly be considered an accepted tool in child welfare and mental hygiene.

FEES FOR ADOPTION SERVICE

By Sybil Foster

THE PHILOSOPHY WHICH IS BEHIND THE FEE for casework service is of interest to all. There seems to be little basic difference between charging a fee for consultation service in family planning and charging a fee for adoption service. There is, however, great difference in the tangibility of results.

The past twenty years have made caseworkers increasingly aware of money and its meaning to people. Since Grace Marcus's classic evaluation of relief giving,¹ articles have appeared through the years which have added to the body of knowledge on which we may draw for understanding in dealing with our fellow human beings, our clients.

The earliest thinking, born of the depression years, related to aspects of asking and receiving material help and its effect upon the client's self-valuation. Much has been learned that changed our concepts of dealing with people. Interest then moved to money in support of children,² its meaning to the parents, the child, the foster parents. Here we found the same basic meaning of money. Next came the study of the use of money in payment for clinic service, fees for consultation in family service agencies, and fees for service in adoption.

Wherever used, money is power, the key to freedom. The use of money may allay discomforting guilt or may bolster courage that is giving way under overwhelming feelings of inadequacy. Money may be a tool for controlling a situation otherwise seemingly out of hand.

We have found the fee to be one of the valuable sifting devices at the point of intake and home study. Those who cannot accept the fee as valid drop out and seek their children elsewhere or else give up their search. How large a group this is we are not sure, but

¹ Grace F. Marcus, *Some Aspects of Relief in Family Casework* (New York: Charity Organization Society of New York, 1929).

² Dorothy Hutchinson, "Case Work Implications in the Use of Money in Child Placing," *Family*, XXI, No. 5 (July 1940), 150-54.

we are aware that many toying with the idea of adoption are self-eliminated in this way.

So are many of those who reach the point of interview and then find themselves unready to go forward for one reason or another. It may be less painful to refuse to go ahead because of disapproval of the fee than to admit to one's self or one's mate that husband and wife do not agree on the urgency of need and conviction as to adoption, or because of a vague fear of what sharing each other's affection with a baby will bring, or because of a gnawing fear that it may not be possible to love the child of another as one's own, and so on through interminable possible reasons for hesitation. The fee can be a convenient peg on which to hang the underlying discomfort, whatever its cause.

Those who accept the fee clearly indicate their willingness to move forward through their investment of an unreturnable payment in the project. The applicant gives of himself to the venture.

In adoption the final result is so very tangible that here we have a great advantage over the agencies that give intangible service only. A warm armful of longed-for baby dependence or the companionship of the inquiring and mischievous runabout is certainly tangible and can be deeply satisfying. The need to express the emotion so aroused can be great. Frances T. Levinson³ has said that the fee is "a way of meeting the psychological need of people to pay for service rendered." In our experience we have seen repeated evidence of the validity of this observation.

Since the fee was instituted in the Cleveland Adoption Bureau we have had a lessening of the overwhelming gratitude so difficult of expression—and which leads so easily to the large donation. Payment for professional services rendered seems to be a satisfying experience to the adopting parents. At best, the adoption situation is a difficult one. For any human being to be in the position of asking another human being for a child which usually is God-given is to admit inadequacy in one of life's most vital areas. Payment of the fee may ease some of the discomfort arising from this deeply humiliating experience.

The need to handle one's own life is basic to us all. The childless

³ Frances T. Levinson, "The Use of Fee in the Case-Work Process in a Family Agency," in *A Functional Approach to Family Case Work*, ed. J. J. Taft (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944).

couple have deep feelings of failure. Each may feel inadequate in his or her own eyes and fear how such failure in the reproductive area will seem to the loved mate. Again and again we hear such statements as, "It hurts me to see my husband with a child and to know I can't have one"; "I feel ashamed"; "I feel no good"; "I can't give my wife a child"; "I feel I've failed my wife"; "I don't know what to tell the fellows, they can't understand." It is true that a sterile man cannot give his wife a child of their mutual creation. He can, however, through financial adequacy give her one by adoption. In this way he establishes his competency in another vital area and so makes up in part for loss in self-esteem.

We believe the charging of a service fee sets a value on professional services that is accepted by the client and community. Again as Frances Levinson has said, it puts a new value on the worker's time which is worth money and "is not to be expended lightly or to no end." This has great mutual significance for client and worker alike.

It was a belief in the foregoing which led us to try the plan of service fees. The fee plan was first instituted in October, 1941, after careful board and staff consideration. The fee was set at \$50. This was handled in two payments of \$25 each and was looked upon as partially covering the cost of home study and the out-of-pocket expenses, such as medical examinations of applicants, necessary verifications, court costs, and the like. This fee was in force until May, 1943. From this first year and a half of experience came the feeling that a sharing of costs was valid. We then moved to a more realistic division. The fee was set at \$100, which was approximately one half of the cost of carrying a child in the Adoption Service Bureau to completion of adoption. The figure was arrived at by dividing the total budget of the Bureau by the number of adoptions completed in a year.

This sharing of costs was readily accepted by applicants on interpretation. Our statement to them was that the fee represented half cost to the agency per child and that we asked them to share costs with us. For their convenience the fee was divided into three payments: \$25 at the time of home study, \$50 at time of placement of a child in the home, and \$25 as we prepared for completion of the adoption in court. The first \$25 was not returnable but went toward the cost of the home study. It was not considered a guarantee that a child would be placed with the applicants.

We charged the \$100 fee for three and a half years, during which time agency costs steadily rose. By the fall of 1946 we were faced with the need of again raising the fee if it was to reach one-half the costs. Board and staff gave careful thought to this. We decided to check our thinking by asking all who had adopted children since the \$100 fee was put into operation to give us the benefit of their comments. A letter was sent to sixty-five families. It was a frank request for their help in our thinking. We recognized that their experience must have raised varying feelings during the months they had worked with us and we hoped they would share their reactions with us. We stated our financial situation and asked four specific questions:

1. Do you believe sharing of costs is fair?
2. Do you think the fee could be raised from \$100 to \$150 per placement?
3. How would you divide the fee payments?
4. Do you think many people are deterred from adopting a child because of our fee?

We received an immediate and warm response from forty-six couples. The replies on sharing the fee were unanimously "yes." In regard to raising the fee, forty-four gave an unqualified affirmative answer, while two questioned this move on our part. The division of the fee into three equal payments of \$50—\$50—\$50 was suggested by thirty-one couples.

To the question as to whether the fee deterred families from adopting, thirty-nine said "no"; five said "yes"; and two questioned it. Only four families raised the question of a sliding scale payment. These were all in the higher income brackets. Our committee had already discussed the possibility of a sliding scale and felt that the plan was more open to misconception than the flat fee. Of all the answers, twenty-nine came from those whose income was under \$3,500, and seventeen from families whose income exceeded that figure.

Repeatedly, those replying made the statement that the fee is comparable to a maternity fee and should be expected, that if a family really cannot pay this in well over a year, they would question the family's ability to assume the continuing responsibility of a child. On the other hand, if the family does not want to pay the fee, they would question the couple's relative values. Following are quotations taken from the letters:

If the fee deters we doubt their serious thought.

If a fee deters anyone, then their interest is not wholehearted—this is a normal confinement fee.

Prospective adoptive applicants who might be deterred by adoption fees are either not financially able or are not sincere in their desire for children. From my personal experience I believe that your organization is equipped with supervisory service, guidance and consultations which given to an inexperienced parent are well worth the fee charged.

Regarding your fee, we feel that anyone who has been considering adopting a child must realize it has taken money to raise it until it is placed and therefore would expect to pay something toward it. My husband and I spent \$1,500 in doctor bills just for trying to have a child and now we have a happy, healthy boy for only \$100. To us it has not been what we spent, but the enjoyment we received from having him around that counts; the empty spot is filled in our home.

We felt that the response from this sampling of "satisfied customers" was so strongly positive that in November, 1946, we advanced the fee to \$150 per placement, again making it one-half our operating cost per child. The \$150 fee is payable in three equal parts. We make no specific statement of what the three payments cover. Rather we say that for the convenience of the applicants the fee is divided into three equal payments. We tell them that \$50 will be due at the time of the home study, that they will be billed for this and it will not be returnable, that it goes toward the cost of the home study. The other payments will be due at placement of a child and before completion of the adoption in court.

Our home study for an approval involves interviews in the home and office with the applicants, interviews with their references, a credit bureau report, and medical examinations of each applicant by our physician, in addition to the comments of their family physician.

First placement and any subsequent placements are at the \$150 fee, for we feel that second placements involve careful review and new medical examinations if two years have elapsed since the earlier medical study. We make multiple placements, such as twins or other children placed simultaneously, for the one payment of \$150.

Since the fee has become generally known in the city, we have had little question in regard to it. At the start some made the point that certain popular articles warned prospective applicants to watch

the adoption agencies where money passed, that these were not reputable. Interpretation of the actual figures seemed to meet this criticism. It is not often that couples question the fee, which is clearly stated at the time of the original interview and again in the home study. Occasionally, we may get an expression of some feeling that they do not like "paying for a child" which they expect to love very much. As they come to see that the fee is for service, as in confinement and delivery, and not for the child itself, this concern disappears.

We have rarely reduced or waived the fee. A family at best has a year, from the time of application to receiving a child, in which to save this money. If they cannot do so, the margin on which they are operating is perilously slim, and only exceptional circumstances would make it seem wise to place a child with them. The failure of a family to accept the idea of sharing the costs, if financially able to do so, usually bears some relation to what they see as the important things in life. One family put \$1,400 into an air-conditioning unit for their home but rejected a shared cost of adoption as unacceptable.

We have been interested in knowing whether the fee has forced out the small income group. In looking over the figures we find that this would not seem to be true. In the two years ending December, 1943, prior to the \$100 fee, ninety-six children had been placed in homes of the following income groupings: 37 percent earned less than \$2,500; 37 percent, between \$2,500 and \$3,500; and 26 percent earned over \$3,500. In November, 1946, we checked a group of 150 children placed after the \$100 fee was in use. Here, 15 percent were in homes where incomes were less than \$2,500; 31 percent were between \$2,500 and \$3,500; and 54 percent were in homes of income over \$3,500. Though the percentages show some shift it is our belief that they reflect the wages of the war years rather than a change in the type of home we have been consistently using for our children.

Some adopting parents pay the fee at once and in full; some pay it in hard-saved five-dollar payments. There is no question but that it has reduced the receipt of large donations! This we feel is one of the indications that the adopting parents have carried out with the agency a joint venture in which they have had a satisfying part. We believe this satisfying feeling of completion is sound.

We must never forget the mature individual's need both to receive and to give. As caseworkers we need to watch ourselves to see that we understand the meaning of giving when we are on the receiving

end and learn to use this expression constructively in our relationships.

It has been interesting to see how well our clients accept the agency limitations of time, which are very frustrating. Our procedure is carefully explained, and special emphasis is given to the necessary delay and the reasons which cause it. It is rarely that an attempt is made to get quicker action by bringing outside pressure to bear upon us. Actually, the urgency of their need and the sincerity and patience of the prospective adoptive parents set up a kind of pressure on us that they little realize. This is often far harder to withstand than a more direct sort.

Of course our agency has an advantage over those who had to break ground in community interpretation in this field. We began to charge for our services after the original demonstration of the value of an adoption fee had been made and we have found ourselves completely at ease in our use of the fee. In the worker's ease lies her ability to interpret a policy with conviction. Here, if in any area of casework, must the worker be aware of her feelings and the effect they are having in the total picture.

From five and a half years of experience with fees has come a strengthening of our conviction that fee charging is sound casework practice. We believe the fee is valid. We know we have much still to learn of its psychological meaning and uses. We hope its possibilities will be explored in many agencies and that we may have the opportunity to share in the results of such pooled experiences. This should lead to the development of finer skills in its use.

THE IMPORTANCE OF BIRTH RECORDS

By Helen C. Huffman

"THE PURPOSE OF A BIRTH CERTIFICATE ain't to prove that you've been born—but when, where at, and who to." That's the way Will Rogers put it. And for most people the birth certificate is just that. For thousands of people it serves as necessary proof of age, proof of citizenship, and proof of relationship to other members of a family. Sometimes, however, the birth record is also a public announcement of a person's illegitimacy, of his "bad blood" because his mother had syphilis, or of his "criminal tendencies" because his father was in a penitentiary at the time of his birth.

Yes, the birth certificate has become an integral part of our everyday life. Through the years its content has grown from a few legal items to include about fifty items of information needed for medical and statistical purposes. Had we known a generation ago that some five million copies of birth certificates would now be used annually, we could have planned better. We could have foreseen the social implications of the complete record when it is placed in anybody's hands. We could have designed the format so that the record could be reproduced in sections. A picture could then be made of only the facts a person needs for a particular purpose and nothing more. Medical and statistical data could have been placed in a confidential supplement which would never appear on certified copies.

It is important to keep in mind just what it is about birth records that causes trouble. It is not the birth certificate itself. Every item on it is valuable to the child. The difficulty comes with the practice of photostating the entire record as the certified copy. The millions of people who turn to the birth record for proof of age, citizenship, and parentage receive with this proof all the other facts on the record—facts which were never intended for public view. These include information about complications of pregnancy and delivery, the result of the mother's test for syphilis, crippling conditions of the infant, and illegitimacy. However, it is not only the adopted or legitimated child who is concerned. All records contain such private information. It is simply no one's business that you are the fifteenth child, or that

your mother had six stillborn babies, or that you were born during the seventh month of pregnancy.

Birth records affect the lives of people in an endless variety of ways. I was in a state registration office when a young man requested his birth record. When he looked at the photostatic copy he was quick to express his protests. He said that a few months earlier, he had been offered a position which he planned to accept, but at the last minute the offer was withdrawn without explanation. Now he knew the reason. The entry on the birth record for "occupation of father" was answered, "In an insane asylum." The position carried considerable responsibility. In the investigation of the young man's fitness the employer must have obtained a copy of the certificate. The loss of the job was bad enough, he said, but the worst part was that the statement was an error. His father was the chief psychiatrist in a hospital for mental illnesses, not a patient.

The practice of issuing the complete birth record as the certified copy brought many repercussions. Groups interested in protecting children secured legislation which removed certain vital data from the certificates. For example, fourteen states no longer collect information on illegitimacy. Without such information we lack a basic social gauge. Other examples center around the records of adopted and legitimated children. Photostatic copies of their certificates showed the old rather than the new status of the child. To correct this, some states used ink eradicator on the original record, and in doing so they destroyed for many children the only source of information concerning identity. Certain states passed laws allowing the registrars to make new birth records for adopted and legitimated children. While some of these states did an excellent job from the beginning, others did not plan so carefully. They copied the signature of the physician from the original certificate to the new record. It is apparent that practices such as this are fraudulent and detract from the probity of all birth records.

Now that the war demand for birth certificates is over, there is time once again to plan. We cannot go back and undo the harm that was done to many thousands of people by unnecessary statements on **their** birth certificates, but we can now install good methods of certification in all the states. We cannot go back and help the crippled children who missed out on services they needed even though those services existed in the community. We can, however, now improve our

birth registration programs to make the record serve its necessary purpose as the link between the child and the service he needs.

It is all so simple on paper. And yet too frequently there is an impenetrable wall of indifference. Here is where social workers can help. It is part of our job to concern ourselves about those who are unnecessarily hurt by their birth records, those who, by the very nature of their own circumstances, are unable to make their voices heard.

Who are these children who can be helped by universally good birth registration? They are the babies born with crippling conditions who do not become known to the agencies established to correct such conditions. They are the youngsters whose births do not get registered at all, many of whom are in need of nursing and medical care. Public health agencies are ready to give this care if they know of the babies' existence. They are the children born out of wedlock and the mothers of these children whose personal affairs become public knowledge through loose handling of the baby's birth record. They are the legitimated children whose original records were falsified by misguided mothers, attendants, or social workers, children who cannot obtain a correct birth record without going into court and revealing the whole story. They are the adopted children for whom nobody took the time to file an original birth record, who go through life feeling a great need to know the names of their natural parents. They are the children born out of wedlock who enter school with birth records which set them apart from their playmates. One state actually issues white birth records to legitimate children for school entrance and orange records to children registered as illegitimate. Think what this means to the child with the orange certificate.

A few years ago many states issued to the child born out of wedlock a certificate which isolated him as distinctly as does the orange certificate. Fortunately, there are only a few states which today permit this type of discrimination. Birth registration has come a long way, but it still has a long way to go. In each state we find some good practices, and there is no reason why these techniques cannot become the common practice in every state. If only we could all get together and pool our experience, every child in the country could realize the maximum benefit from his birth record. By bringing together techniques from a state here and a state there, we can construct a model state to see how a good registration program would operate. We can imagine a baby born in such a model state, and follow his birth cer-

tificate to see what it means to him, keeping in mind that the birth record is a legal, a medical, a statistical, and a social document.

Here is the course that the model birth certificate follows: The physician or midwife attending the birth completes the record and mails it to the local registrar, who may or may not be a member of the staff of the local health department. When the registrar receives it he sees to the validity of the record as a legal document. He passes the certificate on to the local health office, whose job it is to use the record as a medical document. The health officer then sends it to the state health department where the registrar uses it as a statistical document, and thereafter safeguards it as the child's best proof of birth date, citizenship, and parentage.

At each of these steps the welfare of the child is considered. In the hands of the registrar, the birth record becomes confidential. He refuses to release any information for advertising purposes. He refuses to permit the town busybody or credit companies to see it. Backing him up is a law which specifies that access to the record can be given to no one except authorized governmental agencies. He makes sure there is nothing on the record which would be detrimental to the child if it appeared on a certified copy. "Occupation of father and mother" is reviewed to be sure that these entries give only the usual occupation and do not mention location of a parent in a penitentiary or hospital for mental diseases. He makes sure that the word "illegitimate" or "bastard" is not written across the face of the record, and that the date, but not the result, of the mother's test for syphilis is shown. Any unnecessary entry would be sufficient reason to request a new record from the physician or midwife who attended the birth.

In the hands of the local health officer the record is carefully reviewed. If the baby was born out of wedlock and the record indicates that nursing care may be needed, a nurse dressed in street clothing visits the mother. If the nurse finds a need for casework or financial help, she gets in touch with the welfare office. Any crippling condition (such as clubfoot, cleft palate, or harelip) reported on the record is referred immediately to the crippled children's service. Corrective measures are then begun at the time when correction can be most effective. If the record shows that the attendant at birth failed to use a prophylactic drug in the baby's eyes or that the mother was not given a test for syphilis, the health officer gets in touch with the attendant.

If a midwife attended the birth and she is not enrolled in training classes, a nurse visits her and explains why she must attend classes and obtain a license. If the record shows that the baby was delivered by a midwife or that the mother was not seen by a physician during pregnancy, a nurse recommends to the mother that she enroll in a postnatal clinic. She is invited to bring the child to a well-baby clinic.

The record is checked with the rheumatic fever register. If the mother has a history of rheumatic fever, the baby is followed through his early life and school years and given periodic examinations. The record is also checked with the venereal disease and tuberculosis registers. If the mother or father is known to have syphilis or tuberculosis, the baby is followed up in the well-baby clinic and given special tests for as long a time as the physician considers necessary. An immunization card is made, and the mother is notified at the proper times to have the baby immunized against diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, and smallpox. The certificate is then forwarded to the state health department.

In the state office, the registrar makes a photostatic picture of the certificate and sends it to the mother. Accompanying the photostat is a form on which she can request the correction of any mistakes.

In this ideal state program composed of the best from all the states, the fact of illegitimacy would be reported on a confidential supplement so that it would not be reproduced on a certified copy. Let us suppose for a moment that this baby was born out of wedlock. The registrar would write to the mother and explain that if the baby's father is willing to have his name appear on the certificate as the father, he may send in a signed statement to that effect. He would also explain to the mother that if she and the baby's father marry each other at any time in the future, they may send in a copy of the marriage certificate and the father's acknowledgment of paternity. These documents will be matched with the original record and filed away, and thereafter can be seen only on court order. A new certificate will be prepared, showing the child to be their legitimate child.

The certificate is then passed on to the statistician. In his hands the facts of birth are converted into symbols and punched into a card. The punched card for our baby is run through tabulating machines with the cards of all other babies born in the state. The totals are studied with those obtained from death and stillbirth records and with population figures. With this information year after year, we

can predict with reasonable accuracy what will happen to our population. School officials can tell how many children will be going to school six years from now. City planning commissioners can determine where housing projects are needed most. Health officials learn what kinds of clinic and hospital are needed and where they should be placed. Social welfare groups can find out where to place recreational facilities and the age and sex and racial groups to consider.

Turning again to the model registration program, let us suppose that our child is adopted. The registrar provides the clerks of court with special forms on which all adoptions should be reported to him. At the time the final decree is made, the social worker handling the adoption fills in part of the special report form. She supplies the facts of birth needed to locate the child's certificate. If there is no intention to change the original identity, she states this on the form. If, on the other hand, the child's name and parentage are being changed, the social worker gives the information about adopting parents needed for the new record. The clerk of the court then adds his certification and sends the form to the state registrar. This adoption report permits the registrar to tie together the old and the new facts about the child. Too frequently in the past we have neglected the child's right to a document linking his original and adoptive identities.

In the state where the child was born the state registrar matches the court report with the birth certificate and files these two documents together. Afterward, they can be seen by no one except the adopted person when of age or upon court order. The registrar then prepares a new record giving the name of the child and the names of the adopting parents. The new record does not contain the word "adoption" because the appearance of the word on a photostatic copy might force the child to confide his private affairs when he did not wish to do so. The new record does, however, unobtrusively cite the law providing for its creation. This citation would mean nothing to the ordinary user of the certified copy, but in any court action where the certificate was being used as evidence, it would tell the court that the child was adopted. If this fact were pertinent to the case, the court could easily obtain a copy of the original certificate.

Let us suppose that our child is now a young man and needs proof of age and citizenship to present to his employer. Let us suppose that his birth record contains some bit of information which might affect

his chance of getting a job. In our state program composed of the best registration practices, the registrar no longer issues photostatic pictures as the usual certified copy. Instead, birth cards are issued.

The birth card, containing name, birth date, and birth place, is an attractive, pocket-sized certification, sealed in plastic. It was developed by the Council of the American Association of Registration Executives. One of the major purposes of the birth card is to provide a certification which omits unnecessary, harmful statements and, at the same time, is identical in format for all people. The value of a birth card to our child is obvious.

An incident in point occurred in a birth registration office. A seventeen-year-old boy requested his certificate. When he was hesitant to give the information needed to locate the record (his birth date, birth place, and names of parents) the clerk immediately sensed that something was wrong. The boy was referred to the private office of the special interviewer. In the conversation which followed, the boy said he knew he was illegitimate. It was written on the birth record he had received a year before when he needed proof of age to obtain a driver's license. Now he needed his birth certificate to enter military school. His dejection was obvious in every word. The interviewer learned during the conversation that the boy had not been adopted or legitimated and so there was no hope of correcting the record. A few weeks prior to this interview the state had begun issuing birth cards. When a birth card was handed to the boy and he noticed that it contained no reference to his illegitimacy, his whole expression changed. The interviewer declared that he seemed a foot taller as he walked out of the office.

The procedures mentioned are not utopian dreams. All of them are practical realities in one or more registration areas. Numerous states are strengthening their local registration programs by means of adequate financing and supervision. At least one fourth of the states have closed their birth records against any possible misuse. Two thirds of the states now give the mother an opportunity to review and correct the birth record of her child. Nearly all states now prepare a new birth record for the adopted or legitimated child, and only the details of this procedure still need to be improved. One fifth of the states have already installed the birth card as the usual certified copy. With relatively little effort these procedures can be extended to all states.

Birth registration has reached the stage where we are able to begin crystallizing the principles toward which we are working. Some of these important principles may be summed up as follows:

1. Every child has a right to an accurate and complete birth certificate.

2. Birth records should be considered confidential, personal documents.

3. Special protection should be given to birth records of individuals born out of wedlock. Every effort should be made to prevent disclosure of illegitimate birth. The social status of the child on the birth record in terms referring to legitimacy or to marriage of the mother should be retained for statistical and planning purposes. The item should not be a part of the legal certificate where it would appear on a certified copy.

4. Provision should be made for a new birth record when a child is legitimated. The original record should then be available only on court order.

5. Information concerning every adoption should be reported by the court to the state registrar. When a child's name and parentage are changed by adoption, provision should be made for a new birth record. The new record should contain no reference to the adoption except a citation to the law providing for its creation. The report of adoption should be linked with the original record in the state of birth of the child, and should be available only on court order or at the request of the adopted person when of age.

6. A birth card, showing only the name, date, and place of birth and some means of identifying the original certificate, should be issued as the certified copy for everyone needing proof of date and place of birth. No distinction should be made in color, form, or otherwise for any special group of children.

In the past, civic groups have been aware of bad practices in registration but have had nowhere to turn for concrete information. Without tremendous expenditure of time and money they could not learn of practices which had been tested in other states and proved to be satisfactory. Fortunately, this handicap no longer exists. The National Office of Vital Statistics of the United States Public Health Service is collecting a wealth of information on the laws and procedures of all states. The National Office is working with state registrars and the Children's Bureau in formulating content of sound

practices and laws. Although this information is not yet complete, it is in usable form.

The answer to the question of how to bring about improvements will, of course, depend on the local situation and existing laws and procedures. In addition to registrars, agencies such as state welfare departments, child welfare groups, city councils of social agencies, and single private agencies have worked to improve birth registration and have realized most gratifying results.

The staff of a home for unmarried mothers recently began a study in connection with registration practices in the state. They got in touch with the state registrar and obtained copies of the registration law, pertinent rulings of the attorney general, copies of the birth certificate and new certificates prepared after an adoption or legitimation, and certified copy forms. They then wrote to the Children's Bureau and the National Office of Vital Statistics for information on accepted standards in registration. They also obtained from these offices details of procedures that other states have devised to overcome the specific difficulties they were experiencing. They visited the local registrar and discussed his program and the practices of other states. They asked whether these practices could be installed locally. The next step was to visit the state registrar. During the talks with him, they and the registrar learned each other's problems. By taking this practical approach, the group was able to agree on what should be done in the state. The registrar became a member of the committee, and they gave him case stories to discuss with his health officer. The health department attorney drew up the changes needed in the law. The registrar consulted the state welfare people before the bill was brought up in the legislature. The bill was passed without opposition. Most of the needed improvements did not require legal changes, and were put into practice by the registrar even before the law was passed.

One principle to keep in mind is that the state and the local registrar must be included in the planning stage. After all, they are the men and women who will administer the program. And yet it is not uncommon for bills affecting registration to be introduced into legislatures before the registrar has even heard about them. On the whole, registration officials have welcomed the interest of people in social work. Most of them are eager to learn the viewpoint of social work groups.

Looking at the over-all field of child care, we realize that almost all community projects of health or welfare can use to great advantage the birth, death, and stillbirth registrations. The experience of the registrar is invaluable in community planning. To do the total job well, the registrar and the social work groups need each other. By working together for a few years we could transplant our ideal registration program from the realm of wishful thinking to our forty-eight states.

WHAT DID THE WAR SERVICES DEVELOP IN CORRECTION TECHNIQUES?

By Richard A. Chappell

IT IS NOT THE DEVELOPMENT of new techniques in correction by the war services that is noteworthy. It is rather the basic philosophy and attitude of the services toward a modern correctional program and the acceptance and refinements of known techniques in corrections by the military branches of the government that are interesting. It is the recognition on the part of the military services that a well-rounded correctional program should make use of the knowledge and techniques, not only of the military profession, but also of the social worker, the educator, the chaplain, the psychiatrist, and others.

My discussion will relate mainly to the Navy's experiences. May I say, however, that I believe that certain techniques employed by both branches of the military services would prove useful if they could find acceptance by local and state correctional systems? By and large, the jails and prisons and the probation and parole systems of our country have not kept pace with the progress in other fields.

Before the war the correctional problems of the Army and the Navy were simple, for the services had very few prisoners. Until the beginning of the second World War, the Navy never had more than two hundred men confined under general court-martial sentences. By January of 1944, the Navy found itself with approximately six thousand such prisoners. This figure was destined to rise to a peak of more than seventeen thousand before it began to decline after V-J Day. Feeling an unusually heavy responsibility for men who had been drafted from all walks of life and who found it impossible to adjust in the services and who got into difficulty, the Secretary of the Navy, early in 1944, ordered the establishment in the Bureau of Naval Personnel of a Corrective Services Division. The mission of this division was to develop a program for offenders which would prepare them for restoration to duty in the naval service, benefited rather than damaged by confinement. It is difficult to punish and rehabilitate at one and the same time, but by establishing confinement activities as

far removed as possible in appearance and atmosphere from prisons, substantial success attended the Navy's efforts. This success was largely due to the competence of the personnel who directed and operated the correctional program.

Because of the appreciation of the importance of qualified personnel by those who made the policies of the Navy, the first step taken by the newly organized Corrective Services Division was to bring together those Naval Reserve officers, scattered at the time throughout the service, who were experienced in civilian correctional work. Fortunately, there were a number of young, well-trained, and enthusiastic reserve officers who were glad to assist in the development of a well-conceived correctional program. The Division also procured direct from civilian life additional reserve officers who were fitted by training and experience for service in the program. More than forty Naval Reserve officers who had had experience in the Federal Bureau of Prisons or the Federal probation system contributed their efforts to the Navy's correctional work. In addition, there were a number of outstanding young men from the more progressive state services whose energies and ideas were utilized.

The more important techniques employed were: (1) the social case study, which served as a basis for individualized treatment; (2) education and training embracing literacy training for those who had not completed the fourth grade—courses in English, arithmetic, and other subjects ordinarily taught in grade school—and training in naval trades; (3) military drill, and recreation, including competitive sports and swimming; (4) individual counseling and group therapy; (5) employment at useful work in industries—manufacturing, repairing, or salvaging goods for the Navy's use; and (6) selection for restoration to duty or for clemency by an institutional board.

Perhaps I can best indicate some of the correctional methods and techniques employed by the Navy by inviting you to accompany a hypothetical naval enlisted man through some of his experiences while in a disciplinary status.

Seaman Tuck appears at the gate of one of a dozen receiving stations and turns himself in to the sentry on duty stating that he has been absent without leave for a period of thirty-one days. His clothing is soiled, he needs a shave, and he has an unkempt appearance attributable to the long train ride from his home in Kansas to the receiving station which, let us say, is located on Treasure Island across

the bay from San Francisco. Tuck is sent immediately to the brig, where he is searched and his wallet, wrist watch, and identification card taken from him. He is then assigned a bunk in an open barracks with some ninety others who are serving short sentences or awaiting trial. The following morning Tuck is ordered to report to the brig office, and on arrival he is ushered into the presence of a specialist classifier, an enlisted man who was a teacher in civilian life. He might have been a caseworker or a psychologist. This is Tuck's second meeting with a so-called "Spec C."; while in recruit training camp he had been classified by a man who wore the same sleeve markings. This one looks pleasant enough and offers Tuck a cigarette as he takes the chair across the corner of the desk from the interviewer. After answering a few routine questions, Sailorman Tuck is permitted to tell his story.

In brief, he is twenty years of age, the son of a Kansas paper hanger who deserted his wife and four small children when Tuck was twelve years old. Tuck's mother was able to see him through two years of high school, when he lost interest and obtained a job as a mechanic in a garage. He repaired automobiles for two years before volunteering for the naval service soon after his eighteenth birthday, early in 1944—sixteen months prior to this interview. On his two weeks' leave after completing recruit training, he married Elsie Tipple, a childhood sweetheart in his home town in Kansas. He was ten days late returning from leave and was awarded punishment of confinement on bread and water for seven days by the commanding officer. He has seen six months of activity at sea aboard the "baby flat top," or aircraft carrier, "Nassau." He has attained the rating of seaman first class. When asked why he was absent without leave he stated that he "went home to see the kid." His ship had put into Mare Island five weeks ago for repairs after an engagement in which it suffered damage. Half the crew members were permitted leave, and Tuck, too impatient to await his turn, "just shoved off." His wife had written him that the "little geezer" looked like the old man, so he just had to take a look for himself.

Tuck denied being afraid to return to sea, but there was considerable evidence of nervousness, and after his interview with a psychiatrist his medical record received the entry "tension and some anxiety." Tuck had seen two buddies die in the recent battle. The psychologist later found that he had an I.Q. of 95. His service record reveals that

in addition to the absence over leave which occurred on his first leave after recruit training, he was fourteen days over leave eleven months prior to this offense, for which he received a summary court-martial sentence to confinement for two months in the brig and a fine of two months' pay.

The interviews with the "Spec C.," the psychiatrist, and the psychologist completed, Tuck returns to the brig and spends four weary days hanging around before his appearance at captain's mast. On the fifth day he appears before the commanding officer of the receiving station, who is a naval captain, at mast. The hearing known as "mast," so-called because in sailing ship days it was held at the main mast, is presided over by the commanding officer, who may award punishment of confinement on bread and water, or straight confinement for a few days. Or the officer may direct trial by either a deck court, which consists of one officer who may sentence Tuck to the brig for not more than twenty days, or a summary court-martial, which consists of three officers who may award punishment of confinement of two months or less, a fine, and a bad conduct discharge. Or, lastly, the officer may recommend trial by general court-martial, which is composed of five to nine officers who are unlimited in their authority to impose punishment.

Since Seaman Tuck missed the sailing of his ship by two days, and since this is his third absence offense, he is referred for trial by general court-martial. At his trial he pleads guilty, states that he is ready to take his medicine, and begs for the leniency of the court. He is sentenced to one year in confinement, but this is not the final sentence. Before promulgation of his sentence his case and record must be referred to the so-called "convening authority," or the naval officer who ordered the court convened. This officer, a two-star admiral, is the commandant of the naval district in which Tuck was tried. On the staff of the commandant is an officer who in civilian life served as a probation officer and whose present designation is prison administration officer. His duties are to inspect places of confinement within the naval district, supervise and advise about programs for offenders, and review general courts-martial sentences. Occasionally, he has recommended probation for cases such as Tuck's, but the number of offenses involved and the evidence of anxiety found by the psychiatrist seem to argue against this course in this particular case. He summarizes the case for the commandant, who after carefully considering

the summary and the complete social study, along with the data supplied by the psychiatrist and psychologist, orders the sentence mitigated to six months' confinement.

Tuck, along with a group of other men, is transferred two days later to the United States Naval Disciplinary Barracks at Shoemaker, about twenty miles east of San Francisco. On his arrival he is logged in, given new clothing, including a gray uniform, told to take a shower bath, and is then examined by a physician and placed in quarantine where he will remain for ten days. During this quarantine period Tuck is interviewed by the assignment or classification officer, the psychiatrist, the psychologist, and the chaplain. When his ten days are over and after the persons interviewing him have had an opportunity to assemble a written record, Tuck appears before the classification or assignment committee, which comprises the officers who head the various departments of the disciplinary barracks—the assignment officer, the educational and training officer, the industries officer, the psychiatrist, and, in addition, the commanding officer. While Tuck is awaiting his turn outside the conference room, the committee hears a brief statement from each officer who has interviewed him. They contribute parts of the picture of Tuck and his problems which merge into a whole. He does not appear to present so serious a problem as the usual offender.

Tuck is admitted to the room and is permitted to express some preference as to the courses he will pursue, such as motor mechanics, radio, seamanship, electricity, or one of several other naval trades; work, such as making cargo nets, camouflage nets, boat fenders, hammock clews, and repairing athletic gear or Diesel motors, or salvage of metals or lumber. He may also indicate his choice of recreation. The commanding officer explains to him that he is at the disciplinary barracks for retraining. He will be referred to as Trainee Tuck while there. He is expected to abide by the rules and regulations of the activity and to take advantage of the opportunities for training. He is told that perhaps it is partly the Navy's fault that he is in difficulty and that the Navy desires to meet him half way by offering further training and by presenting information that will make him appreciate the Navy's work and the importance of each man carrying his part of the load. He is then told that he will receive his assignments the following day and that he should transfer his personal effects to Barracks D, Bunk 19, where he will sleep until further notice.

On receiving his assignments, Tuck is advised that he will attend classes in gunnery during the mornings, that he will be assigned to the cargo net detail for three hours in the afternoon, except Saturdays and Sundays, that he will attend a swimming class from four until five o'clock three afternoons each week, and that he may elect to attend classes in elementary school courses three evenings each week. He will have the privilege of attending motion pictures two nights each week and the boxing contest or smoker on Saturday evenings. Attendance at church services on Sunday is optional.

Time passes rather rapidly for Tuck during the next few weeks, for his day is completely filled. The food is good, in fact it is the same he would receive at any other naval shore activity. The fresh milk is a treat after several months at sea with only canned milk to drink. He has three dollars a month for spending money at the commissary but he receives no pay while in confinement.

Tuck's letters from home are not too cheerful, partly because of the stoppage of the allotment check to his wife. One letter in particular, raising a problem which is discovered by the mail censors, is delivered to Tuck by the commanding officer rather than in the ordinary manner. The commanding officer attempts to prepare Tuck for the shock of the news about the illness of his wife, who has been advised by her doctor to undergo an operation. The commanding officer arranges an interview for Tuck with the Red Cross worker who, through correspondence with the Red Cross worker in Kansas, and through assistance from Naval Relief, provides the necessary medical attention for Mrs. Tuck.

After six weeks at the disciplinary barracks, Tuck is sent for by the commanding officer and told that he is being transferred to the United States Naval Retraining Station at Farragut, Idaho. He is congratulated on this good fortune and told that his chances will be 99 out of 100 for restoration to duty in the naval service. Had he remained at the disciplinary barracks, those chances would have been eight out of ten.

Along with a draft of nine other men, Tuck goes by train to the retraining station, which in appearance and program is quite similar to the disciplinary barracks. The main differences are that he is permitted to wear his uniform and to exchange salutes, and more emphasis is placed on education and training and less emphasis on shop work. The commanding officer is a lieutenant commander in the

Navy, whereas the commanding officer at the disciplinary barracks was a major of the Marine Corps. The custodial staff is made up of Marines, while the treatment staff are naval personnel.

While at the retraining command Tuck has interviews with the psychiatrist from time to time and participates in a group with five other men who are undergoing group therapy treatment. The treatment lasts for about forty-five minutes three times a week over a period of six weeks. Since his group is made up of those who have anxiety manifestations, they listen to lectures. A buddy of his attends other groups for men who have marked hostility feelings. They are allowed to talk about their hostilities rather than listen to lectures. It is some comfort to Tuck to learn that other men had anxious moments about their personal safety while in battle. He feels that he is getting over some of his fears of going back to sea and he is beginning to be anxious to return to his old ship and his buddies.

In his third month at the retraining station, Tuck is ordered to appear before the clemency board. This board is made up of about the same officers as the assignment board. Although he is fairly well acquainted with two or three members of the board, he still feels ill at ease. He wants to make a good impression because he is anxious to be restored to duty so that his allotment checks will again begin going to his family. Moreover, he wants to finish the job of beating the Japs and get out of service with a white ticket, or honorable discharge, rather than a yellow ticket, or a bad conduct discharge, which would deprive him of benefits under the G.I. Bill of Rights. The advantages of returning to duty are explained by the commanding officer, and he is told that if he prefers, he can complete his sentence and return home with a bad conduct discharge. If he should do so, however, he probably would be redrafted, this time into the Army. Tuck expresses a desire to return to duty at the earliest possible date. A favorable recommendation is made to the naval clemency board in Washington, accompanied by a summary of Tuck's progress at the two places of confinement. Three weeks later his name is read over the loudspeaker as one of those being restored to duty. He is fitted out with a new seabag, clothing, and toilet articles and placed in a draft for embarkation to Pearl Harbor. His orders read that he is to report aboard the "Nassau."

About 75 percent of the Navy's general court-martial offenders and 50 percent of the Army's were restored to duty in the service. Those

who were rejected for restoration to duty underwent training while in confinement which in most instances better prepared them for adjustment in a competitive society after their release to civilian life. Some of those who left the service through the wrong door will get along satisfactorily in the civilian community, where the pressures are not so great as in the military services. Others will continue to be problems and will have dealings with courts, probation offices, relief workers, psychiatric clinics, and other social agencies. They will need our help.

The Army's postrelease plan for parole supervision of offenders will be helpful to some of these men. Assistance and supervision for paroled military offenders are provided through the United States probation system. The Navy, because of legal impediments, has made no provision for parole supervision of those offenders released to civilian life. Consideration is now being given to this phase of its correctional program, and it is hoped that Congress will enact an enabling statute to serve as a basis for a naval parole system.

The contribution to winning the war made by those men who were salvaged and retrained for useful service in the military forces has repaid our country many times for the effort and expense involved. As a result of enlightened correctional policies and practices all men confined by the services are more likely to be social assets in the days of peace ahead. Happily, the Navy is continuing its progressive program. A civilian technical adviser who served with the program during the war as an officer is attached to the Bureau of Naval Personnel, and other experienced civilians are employed in the institutions.

DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT OF THE ADULT OFFENDER

By Kenyon J. Scudder

PROBATION IS NOT A FORM of leniency and mercy. It is just the opposite. Probation is a stiff contract in exchange for freedom. While it avoids the bad effects of prison and the artificiality of prison life, probation requires the man to look after his family, to make restitution to those he has robbed, and to take his part again in community life.

Probation has become a necessary and vital adjunct to our courts of justice. In 1940 prisons and reformatories received 37 percent of commitments; local jails and workhouses, 21 percent; and other sentences, 7 percent, representing a total of almost two thirds of the cases. Probation and suspended sentences were granted in 33 percent of the cases. New York, Ohio, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and California have made extensive use of probation, and this has resulted in a lower number of commitments.

The authority to grant probation carries with it responsibilities. There must be a presentence investigation. There should be a careful selection of the cases recommended for probation. Probation should be followed by intensive supervision, and probation officers should not be expected to carry more than fifty cases. If a man fails on probation, revocation should follow. Many judges express sympathy with probation, but few understand its real value as treatment. Emphasis is too often placed on the revenge factor and fear of public opinion. Although 33 percent are now granted probation, the rate could safely be raised to 50 percent. Too often probation is granted in conjunction with a county jail sentence: "Five years probation, with the first year served in the county jail." Too much importance is often placed in the feeling that detention has deterrent effects; in many cases the effect is just the opposite. A man placed in the county jail faces idleness, filth, and an atmosphere steeped in immorality, noise, confusion, and utter disrespect for the individual. There is no constructive program of work or education. At the end of the year

he comes forth on probation, but the case is cold. The investigation must be done over again.

Those who are granted outright probation have a better chance. If the man is considered a good risk for probation at the expiration of a county jail sentence, he is an even better risk without such a sentence. This is especially true of the first offender. When released on straight probation he can get started on his rehabilitation immediately. Interest in the case is still fresh. The court officer can help the supervising officer to understand his client. The man can be returned to his family and required to support them.

Many judges have never even entered a county jail to see what it is like. Only two judges in Southern California have visited the California Institution for Men at Chino. One comes to see the institution because he is interested in it; the other comes to see the men he has committed, and the men are glad to see him. I know of no other such instance. The more progressive probation officers know what six months in the county jail means to a man, and they rarely recommend a jail sentence if it can be avoided. Many prisoners prefer two years in the penitentiary to six months or a year in the county jail. Every man who shows any promise of adjustment should be granted a trial on probation before he is sent to prison. I venture that the rate of violations will not rise nearly so high as we fear.

One courageous judge in California closed an institution for juvenile offenders because he was so thoroughly incensed at the absence of treatment. He found these young boys, 140 of them, neglected and abused. He sent most of them home and for the others he found foster home placements. The community was in an uproar. The probation officer was frantic. The police predicted a juvenile crime wave. The judge stood firm. To the amazement of all, nothing happened. Six months later, only ten of those boys were in trouble again. Another twelve were on the ragged edge. The rest got along without further recourse to the court.

Too many times we prefer to stay in the comfortable rut of tradition and custom. In only five or six states is the probation officer authorized to make a recommendation for probation. Too many judges are still too jealous of their prerogatives, but the judge who has confidence in his probation officer learns soon to lean heavily on him. He knows that the probation officer is as anxious as he to make a good selection of probation cases. The judge cannot leave the bench

for the field. He has only the court report and its findings. If the probation officer is alert, he will bring in all available pertinent information about the man, his offense, and his family, and he will endeavor to assist the judge in the selection of probation cases. In California the law demands a written report from the probation officer, with a recommendation for or against probation, and an outline of the proposed program of supervision. The judge is required to sign the report, indicating that he has read it and is aware of its contents. Many states still place too many restrictions on the granting of probation. The deadly weapon act of California has tied the hands of the court in many instances, and has resulted in sending many a good probation prospect to prison. I am tired of hearing probation officers boast of the careful screening of their cases for probation and of the high degree of success attained. By making a few simple changes in the Penal Code and by encouraging judges and probation officers to take a few chances, we could increase our use of probation by 25 percent.

A man is sent to prison. One little additional ounce of information might have thrown the balance in favor of probation, but that little ounce was lacking. Friends congratulate the prosecutor, "There's another one society won't have to bother with."

Seldom does society realize that, whether we like it or not, 98 percent of those we send to prison will someday return to the communities from whence they came. Merely locking men away from freedom is not the answer. What happens to them in prison will, in large measure, determine their attitude upon release. Will they come out soured and embittered against society? Or will they come out inspired with new hope and courage for the future? The care, the training, and the treatment men receive in prison will determine, to a large degree, their success or failure on parole.

For too many years prisons have followed the same general pattern of beating down the individual to conformance with an age-old, antiquated, and archaic system. As the convicted man approaches the great gate, it is as though eager hands reach out to strip him of his individuality, to force him into the same mold and garb as thousands before him. And as though that were not enough to break his spirit, they give him a number and call him "convict."

In connection with incarceration there are two fields of thought: (1) we commit this man to prison as punishment for his offense;

(2) we commit this man to prison, there to be punished. In my opinion, both theories are wrong. The application of either one endeavors to bring home to him constantly what he has done and to pull him down. In his book *Rebel without a Cause*, Robert M. Lindner concludes:

We have had in this volume a striking illustration of the truth of William A. White's remark that behind every criminal deed lies a secret. But more important, we have glimpsed the utter futility, the sheer waste, of confining individuals in barred and turretted zoos for humans without attempting to recover such secrets. . . . Modern prisons, the gleaming shops and factories, the bright young social workers, the custodial hierarchy—in brief, the whole hollow structure of rehabilitation [is] based upon expediency, untested hypotheses, unwarranted conclusions from a pseudo-scientific empiricism.

In spite of the self-flattery in which criminologists, penologists and the assorted professional and warder complement of the modern prison indulge, we are not today treating criminals; and, what is worse, in only a few isolated instances are we even learning anything about them. In all its bald essence, what we are actually doing today is removing a wrongdoer from the community; and while he is in a place of detention we are submitting him unmercifully to the unrequiting ministrations of an expensive officialdom. But beyond the half-hearted employment of a "shot-gun" technique which fires its charge in all directions at once, we do nothing fundamental about crime or the criminal.¹

More progressive institutions today operate under a new philosophy. In substance it says, "Let's forget the offense; that is in the past. Look forward to the future. Together, let us join our efforts to prepare his return to community living."

In place of the old group system, let us consider each individual as a person. Let us build new self-respect and confidence, engender a feeling of importance. Replace the rough shouting of scowling guards with an attitude of friendliness without familiarity. Then it is that the shifty glance of the prisoner gives way to a lifting of the chin, a clear eye, a smile of confidence, a new awakening of the inherent desire in every man to be considered as a person. It is true that some hardened criminals will take advantage of this manner of treatment, but the large majority of men will respond and develop under fair treatment when given the opportunity. By use of classification, segregation, and treatment remarkable results can be accomplished.

There are now in the prisons of the United States several so-called

¹ Robert M. Lindner, *Rebel without a Cause* (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1944), p. 288.

"guidance centers." The first, and undoubtedly the best developed, is located at San Quentin Prison, under the jurisdiction of the California Department of Corrections. Many of the prison personnel welcomed this advancement in the treatment method and have cooperated to the fullest extent. Now, even the old-timers see some good in the new way. And yet, there is nothing new in this treatment. It is merely the application of common-sense methods and the placing in the hands of the workers the information and the tools with which to understand and help the prisoner in his adjustment.

Under the Department of Corrections in California, all men committed to prison for the first time are sent to the guidance center. Here, an able, trained staff headed by a psychiatrist, and assisted by psychologists, social workers, and trained interviewers, study the case and start the man in the direction of again becoming an individual. After two months of intensive study and observation, during which all the facts are gathered from the community, a program takes shape; the needs of the individual are recognized, he takes part in the planning, and, in order to make it work, there must be for him an opportunity for freedom of choice. A recommendation is made as to where the man shall serve his sentence, and after approval of the Adult Authority, both as to institution and program, the transfer is made.

The results of these two months in the guidance center are very gratifying. The men are kept away from the hardened offenders. Those who want to progress and better themselves are quickly recognized by their actions and attitudes. With a mere handful of personnel, more than five hundred men have been handled at one time in the guidance center, with hardly a single disturbance, and disciplinary cases are few.

Most men coming to prison want to make good. The first few months offer the best opportunity for progress. Under the old system they were dumped immediately into the main prison and soon lost all their good intentions because of the pressures put upon them. In the guidance center they are protected against such dangers. The atmosphere is one of industry, energy, and self-betterment. They are treated with respect and consideration although they are required to work and obey the rules. It is seldom that a man has to be removed to the disciplinary lockup. He wants to get out into society as soon as possible and welcomes this pervading attitude of helpfulness.

It takes trained leadership to conduct such a program, and the Center is fortunate in the high caliber of its personnel.

One of the most important steps in any treatment program is to afford all men an opportunity to work. Many men in prison have never learned to work. They have run away from work. In the average prison, work is the last thing available. If we only teach men to work in prison we have accomplished a great deal.

Here the classification committee plays an important part. Many prisons have no classification system, while in others classification has become a fetish, a dictatorial weapon in the hands of a poorly trained staff. The prisoner is told what he is going to do. He has no voice in the selection.

The best classification committees insist upon the personal appearance of the man before the committee. They put him at ease. He is encouraged to enter into the planning by expressing, without fear, his interests and desires, and especially his parole plans upon release. Little or nothing is said about the offense which sent him to prison. He is encouraged to make the most of his opportunities and given assurance of help and understanding. Interest is expressed in his family, and arrangements are made for them to visit him in prison.

In the close-custody institutions all men are handled alike. Because it is feared that contraband articles may be smuggled in, rigid visiting regulations are imposed and strict rules are enforced. With a little effort and careful selection these rules could be relaxed, and men whose records were satisfactory could be given more liberal visiting privileges even in the medium security prisons. At the California Institution for Men the visiting privileges are appreciated by the men more than any other part of the program. At Chino visitors are allowed on Sunday from ten in the morning until three in the afternoon. They may bring a picnic lunch, which is taken to the visiting grounds, equipped with a large pergola and picnic tables. There a man may visit for several hours with his wife and children, and no one listens to the conversation. The grounds are closely supervised, but it is a rare occasion when anyone gets out of order. The family is held together in an atmosphere of freedom. The men are allowed to wear civilian clothes. They feel normal, at ease, and proud of their appearance.

Scarcely a week passes but some man on parole comes back to

Chino to visit and to show his mother or wife where he learned his trade, where he found himself. One Negro came with his mother. He said: "I want her to see where I got my start. My people have been poor for years. We were bootblacks and janitors. We never had money to learn a trade. Now, I'm a welder at a dollar twenty an hour. I learned my trade at Chino. The standard of living of my family has been raised, and I'm not going to get in trouble again."

Men who have served years in prison should not be suddenly turned loose. The shock is too great, and many times they are afraid of themselves and of the strange noises around them. There must be in our prison system provision for a gradual release from custodial restraint and a corresponding increase in freedom of choice. This takes careful organization, extra effort and time, but it pays big dividends.

The forestry camp program of several states, in connection with the prisons, affords this opportunity for gradual release from custodial restraints. Work in the forests, the fighting of fires, the feeling of freedom which surrounds him, all contribute to, and help prepare him for, the day of release.

We must take the public into our confidence. We should encourage bringing selected groups into the prison. Men in prison like to see people, even at a distance, and it is rare that any discourtesy is shown. Outside shows, put on by community groups and brought to the prison for the entertainment of the men, break the monotony and afford opportunity for the men to look upon normal people. It is our custom at Chino, when outside groups put on a show, to entertain the cast in our home after the performance. We always invite thirty or forty men who helped with the scenery to come too. The table is set with a lace cloth, candles, and gleaming silver, and we serve ice cream, cake, and coffee. Our men mix with the guests. Later, we return to the living room with its bright fire and easy chairs. Here again is an atmosphere of freedom, of being accepted as an individual. And why not? Soon these men will be our neighbors, released again to our communities. One of our men usually steps to the piano. Someone leads in singing, and the whole house bursts into song. Time and again, I have stood in the hallway looking in at each group. And if I had not known who was who, I could not have told who was free and who was not free. You see, they were just people.

"Barred and turretted zoos for humans" should be abolished. No man should be sent to prison except as a last resort. And for those

who do go, there must be an adequate parole system. More use should be made of probation with adequate supervision.

Better yet, greater attention must be focused upon those unsatisfactory conditions existing in every community, which breed delinquency and crime. When we do that, we will start closing down our prisons and thereby hasten the day when it will no longer be necessary to lock so many people away from freedom.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COMMUNITY FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

By R. H. Felix, M.D.

"JUVENILE DELINQUENCY" IS A LEGAL LABEL which we pin upon the behavior manifestations of children who try to find satisfaction for their inner needs in ways which are socially unacceptable. It is a term which covers many types of activity, from snitching apples from a fruit stand to setting fires and merely means that this is behavior which is socially disapproved in our culture. It tells us nothing about the personality of the individual nor the causes of his behavior. Yet it is precisely these determinants which must be known if we are to understand the meaning of that behavior to the child and be able to cope with it.

One common fallacy in our approach to the problem of delinquency—and one of the reasons for our failure to cope with it effectively—has been our tendency to regard it as an isolated phenomenon and to treat it as such. Delinquency is a symptom—a symptom of underlying emotional and social maladjustments in the child and his environment. Its causes are multiple and are rooted deep in the subtle social and psychological influences which determine our personality and condition our behavior. Studies of delinquents have shown that the sources of their difficulties nearly always go back to their early childhood, to destructive interpersonal relationships which have been damaging to their healthy emotional growth. Doctors Healy and Bronner¹ found that the essential difference between delinquent children and their nondelinquent siblings lay in the fact that the nondelinquents had satisfying relationships with their parents in their early life while the delinquents did not. The delinquents felt unloved, unwanted, and they developed a lasting sense of injury or of hostility toward the world. Their behavior is their way of defending themselves against inner anxieties and conflicts, of asserting them-

¹ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *New Lights on Delinquency and Its Treatment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936).

selves and retaliating against what to them is an unjust and hostile world.

Dr. Fritz Redl, in describing an experiment he is conducting with a group of extremely aggressive delinquents,² writes:

As a result of mismanagement, most of the delinquents have heavy loads of hatred stored up in them. Some pile it up carefully in cellars of their unconscious and under the surface of . . . polite submission. Others condense it into certain moments of their life when it spouts all over the place . . . in the form of fits and tantrums. Others turn it inside, and it produces speech blockages, wild fantasies and ideas of persecution.

In general, then, the delinquent child is the unhappy child, the emotionally maladjusted child, who takes out his dissatisfactions, his feelings of deprivation and frustration and insecurity, upon his environment. To the outsider his behavior may appear to be deliberate misconduct. To the delinquent himself it has as much meaning as socially approved activity has for the well behaved. His delinquency is his way of reacting to his inner urges and the environmental pressures and should be recognized by those who deal with children as a signal of distress. Such a child needs skilled psychiatric treatment quite as much as the child who suffers night terrors or is enuretic or develops tics.

It is helpful to think of juvenile delinquency as a public health problem, and then to attack it from this standpoint. In all public health programs the grand strategy is essentially the same. Active research must be conducted into all phases of the problem to determine the causes of the condition and the most efficacious methods of prevention and treatment. Sufficient clinical services of the best possible quality must be provided for both out-patient and in-patient care. Finally, and by no means of less importance, both the professions and the public must be brought to an intelligent understanding of the problem and of the part they can play in solving it.

There is nothing in this strategy which is not applicable to a program for dealing with juvenile delinquency. Fortunately, we know a little something about the causative factors, or, to be more exact, the contributing causes of this problem. As time has gone by, studies of man and his environment have given us some knowledge of the dynamics of human behavior. We have learned, for example, that the development of a child into an emotionally healthy, well-adjusted

² Fritz Redl, *First Month at Pioneer House*, unpublished manuscript.

person, able to behave in a personally satisfying and socially acceptable way, is dependent upon a complicated balance between gratification and renunciation of natural impulses. Almost from the moment of birth the child must meet certain cultural requirements at the same time that he is striving to satisfy his biological demands. He must learn to regulate his hunger to fit a prescribed schedule, and to control his elimination according to fixed standards of cleanliness. Perhaps most difficult, he must learn at a relatively early age to inhibit his hostile and destructive impulses if he wishes to receive his mother's smile instead of her frown. The manner in which these restraints are imposed upon him, and the time—that is, whether he is physically and psychologically ready for those adjustments—are important factors in determining his personality and the patterns of his future behavior.

For a child to be ready and willing to accept the denials and restrictions expected of him, he must find satisfaction for certain basic emotional needs. First and foremost is the need for unconditional love and affection, for security within his family. A child can renounce personal gratifications and take over as his own the moral precepts of his parents only if he feels secure in their love and wants to be like them.

As he grows a little older he must receive a full measure of other "psychological vitamins" for his healthy emotional development. The need for satisfying achievement and recognition from others must be fulfilled if the child is to gain self-confidence and feel himself worth while. He also has a need for concrete ideals, which he seeks to find, not only in his parents, but in all the adults around him—the teacher, the grocer, the policeman, the man across the street. He looks to them for standards and patterns of living, for direction in coming to terms with life.

His hunger for the acquisition of knowledge must be satisfied. Children are eager to find out everything about the world around them. So often we stifle or repress their natural curiosity by frowning upon their questions, especially if they happen to be in the realm of sex, so that what might have been calmly accepted knowledge about their environment becomes something forbidden and evil or secret and attractive.

Finally, the growing child's desire for independence and self-direction, for emancipation from family ties, must be realized if he

is eventually to become a mature adult able, without too great emotional strain, to take his place in society as a useful, law-abiding citizen.

As was indicated earlier, very frequently the child who has felt thwarted in the fulfillment of his basic emotional needs expresses his feelings of deprivation and frustration in misconduct. A child who feels himself insecure and unloved has no incentive to sacrifice his personal pleasures and discipline himself, with the result that he develops unacceptable patterns of social behavior. Like the malnourished child who is less resistant to infections than a well-nourished one, so the neglected and deprived child is more susceptible to the infections of unwholesome community influences that might jeopardize his character. He is especially susceptible to the excitement and stimulation of street and gang life, which at the same time offer him, not only an escape from his unhappiness at home, but also a feeling that at last he "belongs." He finds there the security, the recognition, and the sense of independence for which he has been searching.

The prevention of delinquency, then, is in great part the prevention of those unhealthy factors in the child's home and community that create maladjustment. These would include, of course, unhealthy social and economic conditions which contribute greatly to the problem. A real delinquency prevention program would include doing something about (1) inadequate medical and welfare services; (2) poor housing; (3) vicious neighborhoods; (4) unemployment; (5) economic insecurity; (6) substandard wages; and (7) the many other hindrances to sound, healthy living. While I shall limit my discussion primarily to the emotional aspects of the problem, it is well recognized that one cannot separate them from the social and economic structure with which they are intimately bound up.

Since the relationship of parents to child is the matrix out of which the child's personality emerges and the state of his mental health is determined, perhaps the most crucial factor in the wholesome development of a child and, obversely, in the prevention of emotional maladjustment and delinquency, is an enlightened and understanding parenthood. The job of being a parent is not simple. Parents often need and want help in meeting the complicated problems that accompany parenthood. Doctors, nurses, teachers, social workers, ministers, and others are in a good position to help parents become aware

of their children's emotional needs and of how they can meet them. Hence professional workers should be properly trained to give accurate information in this field, so that they may be of maximum service to parents and help them to avoid unfortunate mistakes in rearing their children.

The school is perhaps in the most strategic position of any community organization to help prevent delinquency, since it reaches practically all children at a relatively early period of their emotional and mental growth. By identifying maladjusted children early and referring them for skilled treatment, the school can do a very important preventive job. This means that teachers and principals must be trained to recognize and understand the symptoms of a disturbed child, whether they be masked in the guise of extreme "goodness" or in the irritating behavior of the class pest. The school program should be geared to teaching children rather than subjects, and toward making the school experience a happy and successful one for all.

Whether she is aware of the fact or not, the teacher exerts an extremely important influence over her pupils; she is the first representative of social authority whom the child meets, and the manner in which she uses her authority is a potent determinant of the child's eventual attitude toward those forces of society which tend to restrict him as an individual. Her personality and attitudes can bolster potential assets in the child that help him toward healthy maturity, or breed in him resentments and disdain for authority that may last a lifetime. A person so intimately affecting the lives of children should be selected, not only on the basis of her academic achievement, but also on the basis of her emotional maturity, stability, and understanding of children.

It must be emphasized that every agency dealing with children should meet three requirements: (1) its personnel should like and respect children and should be trained to deal with them intelligently and with sympathetic understanding; (2) its philosophy and program should be based upon meeting the needs of children; and (3) it should cooperate with and use other community resources whenever necessary to meet the total needs of the child. Every organization and professional group must recognize that it is doing only part of a larger task and that the child often requires the concerted effort of several agencies.

Recognizing that the individual is a total functioning organism,

any effective program for delinquency prevention must be geared to a total approach and built upon unified community effort. There must be, of course, one focal point around which the delinquency prevention program of the community can be mobilized. One such integrating agency, and perhaps the most efficacious, is a well-staffed mental health clinic to which children can be referred for help as soon as they show deviant behavior or personality symptoms.

The staff of such a clinic should consist, at a minimum, of a psychiatrist, a clinical psychologist, and two psychiatric social workers, all of whom should be adequately trained in child development. They should be able to evaluate the child's difficulties in the light of his total setting, that is, to understand the physical, psychological and social forces that motivate his disturbing behavior, and to treat him according to his individual needs.

Often other significant persons in his environment, such as the parents, need treatment as well as the child. Other aspects of the environment may need to be modified. For example, a change in school placement may be indicated, or enrollment in a recreational center. Or the environment may be so detrimental to a child's welfare that he should be removed from it entirely. Since its staff is generally small, the mental hygiene clinic must depend to a large extent upon other community agencies to carry out treatment plans. Obviously, there must be a close liaison between the clinic and other community agencies if its services are to be effective.

The clinic can be an important educative force in the community. By interpreting the needs of an individual child and suggesting methods of handling him, it can spread knowledge of the mental health needs of children to parents, teachers, nurses, recreation leaders, social workers, probation officers, and other persons dealing with children.

The clinic can also offer consultative services to other agencies on children about whom the referring agency is concerned even when it is not possible or feasible for them to be examined. Interchange of ideas and information among the various professional groups that deal with children will help to break down the ideological differences which have sometimes blinded us from appreciating the contributions that other disciplines could make to a mutual problem. Such interchange would help to promote the teamwork necessary to serve the total needs of the child.

The use that is made of a clinic depends upon an informed community. The importance of mental hygiene training for teachers, ministers, lawyers, social workers, and all others who come in contact with children should be stressed. Their knowledge will not only help them to deal more wisely with their charges, but it will also help them to recognize early behavior symptomatic of maladjustment and to refer children for help at the first recognized sign of difficulties. Too often homes and schools postpone obtaining help until the problems have become entrenched and difficult to treat. Community agencies can thus serve the very important function of early case-finding.

Community mental health programs alone are not the answer to the delinquency problem. Far from it. No one agency or one program can by itself do the entire job. All community services—schools, courts, clinics, churches, recreation centers, welfare agencies—must plan and work together in a coördinated program based upon meeting children's needs. Such a program would endeavor to fill gaps in services, eliminate duplication of effort, and improve community services. Differences in point of view, resistance to new ideas, the natural tendency to cling to the known and to fear change, the reluctance to yield an iota of vested interest in a program—these are some of the more subtle obstacles that hinder a coördinated community approach. They must be overcome if we seriously intend to carry out an effective program of delinquency prevention.

The task is huge and one in which the Federal Government is willing to assist. But the chief responsibility rests upon the states and communities to provide the necessary services which will help their children achieve healthy physical, mental, and social maturity. In the final analysis, the success of a community program depends upon the active participation of every citizen. A good deal of responsibility rests with all professional workers in the field who must take leadership in the social thinking and action of the community. It is a big job—but they are used to big jobs. It demands much but they have much to give.

PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF DELINQUENCY IN CALIFORNIA

By Heman G. Stark

COMMUNITY LEADERS EVERYWHERE are concerned with the problem of juvenile delinquency and crime. The situation in California was unusually grave during the war years, when more than two million new citizens came to that state. Law enforcement agencies, the courts, and institutional facilities have been overburdened with law violators of all ages, and it was due to the seriousness of this problem that the state of California established a program for the treatment of delinquency and the protection of society. Few communities were able to provide a completely adequate program for their youth during this period of rapid growth in California. Many of the traditional safeguards provided by home, church, school, and community agencies have been impaired or destroyed completely.

In 1943 the California Youth Authority was created, following closely the plan suggested by the American Law Institute. It was given the responsibility of developing a state-wide program designed to help communities in their efforts to prevent delinquency. This plan calls for the reorganization and creation of facilities for the handling of youths who no longer can be cared for by the community agencies; the creation of a program for the diagnosis and treatment of individual cases; and the development and encouragement of broad community programs among all agencies and organizations interested in youth.

For the past four years the Youth Authority has studied the problem of delinquency and has set in motion all possible facilities and services. In the course of organizing this work we have come to believe that an understanding of youth problems and the development of effective methods of meeting them are prerequisite to the necessary public support of programs that will prevent delinquency. We have not confined our work to the services of the Youth Authority, but have attempted to coördinate our facilities and services with those of other agencies. All our planning has been with the full co-

operation and support of Governor Earl Warren, the Legislature, the California Youth Committee, and other state and national agencies and associations. Our program has been developed from known principles and practices of other agencies and from the experience of our staff in the field, and in every respect has therefore been tested for its validity.

If we are to deal with delinquency, we must first know what it is, where it exists, and what are its causes. Prior to 1915 the California statutes described delinquency as any violation of law or act for which a person might be arrested, detained, or incarcerated. However, the present law gives wider latitude to enforcement agencies and makes provisions for prevention, classification, and treatment.

From experience we know that juvenile delinquency is a symptom of failure to meet the needs of children and youth; that delinquency is "acquired," and that environment plays an important part in the process. We know that the factors involved are inextricably related to all the factors of our social and economic life, and that any program, to succeed, must make an attack on a wide and varied front. Therefore, any delinquency prevention program that fails to take into consideration all the forces within a community, whether constructive or destructive, will only partially succeed.

The percentage of delinquent youth in California is comparatively small. Less than 5 percent per year of those under eighteen are called to the attention of law enforcement agencies. Many of these young people are guilty of minor infractions only, and their cases are disposed of without further action. Less than 2 percent are brought into juvenile courts, where they are studied and treated according to their individual needs.

Youths in need of treatment beyond the facilities of the county are referred to the state. Delinquent cases come to the Youth Authority, and mental cases are referred to the Department of Mental Hygiene.

The removal and treatment of these leader-type delinquents from the community is one of the first steps in organizing any satisfactory delinquency prevention program. Traditionally, the law has relied primarily upon the threat of punishment to build up resistance to criminal inclinations. Experience, however, has shown clearly that punishment alone, particularly in the case of youthful offenders, is unsound and does not prevent crime.

To change the stagnant pattern of poor detention homes, jails, and

correctional schools, the Youth Authority has assumed the responsibility of creating educational institutions where children may be studied and a program of training and treatment provided. Despite the handicaps imposed by the war emergency, the Youth Authority has been able to establish three new institutions and five forestry camps.

The Youth Authority consists of three members appointed by the governor from a list of names presented by an advisory panel. One member of the board is named by the governor as director and has the responsibility for the administration of the organization. All three members are responsible for the classification, treatment, and paroling of cases.

The Youth Authority operates in three divisions, one of which is the Division of Field Services. This division is responsible for supervision of probation, direction of the Youth Authority parole program, and for the delinquency prevention section.

In probation and juvenile court work we have attempted to give leadership in raising the standards for the care and treatment of children and adults brought into our courts, and for improvement of personnel and probation work throughout the state.

In our parole department we have cut the case loads from 200 to about eighty cases per worker, and have secured college-trained social workers as our parole officers. Already this program is paying dividends in the decrease in the number of youths who need to be returned to state schools for further correction.

The function of the Youth Authority, beyond removing and treating the more difficult cases, is to give leadership to county and city agencies and organizations in an effort to encourage community action in the field of prevention. We believe that a vigorous attack on juvenile delinquency requires teamwork from all agencies and organizations in the community that are concerned with youth problems. Effective teamwork requires unselfish leadership in the creation of a community framework in which agencies may come together to review local conditions, discover needs, and plan for community action.

We have, therefore, been interested in organizing some type of community council in every California community. At the present time there are eighteen community welfare federations and councils

of social agencies in California. There are more than three hundred community, neighborhood, coördinating or youth councils in the state. These groups provide the basic structure around which the delinquency prevention program is built, giving the Youth Authority and other state and national agencies a grass-roots group through which information can be gathered and disseminated.

Through the Field Services Division of the Youth Authority, special services have been made available to communities. We have provided consultant services in community recreation, probation, detention, and youth guidance, and in youth centers and community councils. While the Youth Authority has some mandatory functions so far as the supervision of probation is concerned, we have worked with probation largely through coöperation with the Probation and Parole Association, through the gathering of statistics and information, and by providing studies and consultation services upon matters relating to the best standards and practices in probation.

We have worked for the creation of state recreational services and have given assistance to many communities in setting up their program for meeting youth recreation needs. This has included the establishment of youth councils and youth centers or canteens. During the war more than four hundred youth canteens came into being, many of them organized on an unsound basis with improper financing and poor leadership. In order to salvage something from the inevitable wreck, we established the Youth Centers and Councils Association, which held state-wide and area meetings with hundreds of youth leaders present, in an effort to turn the enthusiasm of this movement into constructive channels. Some of these canteens are still in existence under the support of a public or private agency. Others have failed, but in either case the dynamic energy of these youths has been converted into a community-wide co-recreational program, and has contributed to the recreational resources of the community.

We have provided a consultant to detention homes and juvenile halls in an effort to raise the standards of buildings, personnel, and program within these facilities. We are assisting in the plans and programs for eighteen new detention homes.

We have encouraged the establishment of juvenile police bureaus with special training programs for police officers, giving them the

basic skills in the handling of delinquent children. California has pioneered with the idea of having policewomen on the staff to handle girls.

We have encouraged the establishment of a juvenile law enforcement institute in the University of Southern California. This is the first of its kind and parallels the plan of the Northwestern Traffic Institute.

A fund has been set up for subsidizing juvenile forestry camps, with the Youth Authority responsible for setting standards of work, program, and personnel within the camps. At the present time eleven such camps are operating in six California counties, with more than six hundred boys between the ages of sixteen and eighteen under supervision.

These camps provide an opportunity for city boys to establish regular habits and learn to work. The boys are paid a small amount for their efforts and are kept in the camps on a short-time basis, usually not to exceed six months. This period gives the probation officer an opportunity to straighten out affairs within the home, or provide a substitute home, school, and work program. The camps have been extremely successful, and several more are to be established.

We have subsidized educational programs within ten universities and colleges and have for the past four years held a series of summer workshops where more than three thousand community leaders met to discuss problems of youth guidance.

We have provided an agency for gathering facts and providing information about delinquency conditions. This data is useful when we are called upon to point out infectious areas where special programs may be needed. One of our most successful projects has been the provision of a survey staff for making county and city studies. We have now surveyed twenty-two counties and have made recommendations upon youth services in those areas. These studies have led to vast improvement in the organization, personnel, and quality of work being carried on throughout the various communities.

In making a survey we go to the community only at the request of the agencies and organizations who wish to be surveyed; we take with us consultant representatives from other agencies covering fields in which we do not maintain a service; and we use the technique of selling the survey as we go along. Many times an agency executive

will know full well that he needs additional manpower and organization, but he has not really had time to sit down and think through his problem. On other occasions, the agency head is glad to learn what people are doing in other communities, or what best standard practice is in operation in the best similar agencies. We usually delay the final survey reports in order to permit some of the recommendations to be put into effect, thereby giving the local agency credit for the project. We then call all representatives of all the agencies together for a reading of the final report. This gives an opportunity for discussion with the staff members who made the survey. The final report is then written and presented to the people of the community. In this way there is no chance that the report will be suppressed or made unavailable to those who wish to study it.

We have provided plans and consultation services to many communities that are conducting self-studies. We believe this is a promising procedure in community study work, since it brings into participation many forces that would not otherwise be used.

In addition to community coördination at the local level, it has been desirable to bring about closer coöperation on a state-wide basis. The Governor has therefore created the California Youth Committee, with responsibility to work closely with the Departments of Education, Health, and Social Welfare, the Attorney General, and the Youth Authority.

The membership of the California Youth Committee is drawn from leadership in youth-serving agencies and from large and small communities, thus providing a well-rounded group who know the problems and have the power to encourage action at the local level.

Many of the projects, studies, and programs undertaken throughout the state have been encouraged by the Youth Committee. The Committee has assisted in securing funds for the study of detention homes, community recreation, and transient youth. The Committee is administered by the California Youth Authority and has given excellent backing to the program of delinquency prevention throughout the state.

We recognize that there are many other delinquency prevention services, such as those sponsored by churches, social group work agencies, community chests, and other public and private agency programs. Outstanding among these has been the Agency and Area Project of the city of Los Angeles, where the Community Chest has provided

\$250,000 a year for delinquency prevention work in "last chance" areas.

The Los Angeles County Youth Committee and the San Francisco Youth Council have provided two methods of bringing about co-ordination at the top within the county setting. The coördinating councils of San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Sacramento, Fresno, and other communities have carried a major part of the prevention work in California. Councils of social agencies and welfare councils in all the larger metropolitan areas have made splendid contributions in planning and coördinating services to youth. Public agencies, such as health, welfare, and recreation departments, are performing functions essential to good child welfare work and should be commended for their progress.

Last, but perhaps most important, is the recognition on the part of educators everywhere that youth guidance and the handling of children with problems constitute a most essential function of education. Schools in Santa Barbara, San Diego, and many other communities have trained social workers on their staff to organize the resources of the school for such programs as health, testing, counseling, and individual guidance.

We have encouraged school people everywhere to take this step, since we believe that the school must act as a "finding" agency for those children who show maladjustment in the early years, and that it must take the responsibility for providing a satisfactory plan of adjustment so that children do not have to break into jail in order to have their problems recognized.

We believe the focus of a prevention program must be in the community and under local auspices and administration. Effective results cannot be obtained by imposing a program upon a community from a state or national level. We believe that this philosophy is fundamental in a democracy where the responsibility must come from the least common denominator of government—the community and the individual.

We believe we have the knowledge, the manpower, and most of the facilities for the task. If we can supply the will to go forward unselfishly, welding together the forces of our local, state, and national organizations, we may eliminate juvenile delinquency as a major community problem.

A CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM FOR THE AGED

By Rose J. McHugh

GROWING OLD IN THE WESTERN WORLD is a new experience. In past centuries, only the physically strong withstood the rigors of their environment and the lack of health care. Today, generally speaking, men work longer, live longer, are "disabled" longer. Economic, industrial, social, and medical developments have cumulatively reconstructed our way of living. History has increased the number of the aged and profoundly modified the economic foundations and many of the mores which once assured them a secure place in a simpler society. This process of change has not yet been satisfactorily completed in America; for it still fails to give a just place to all social groups in this new society, and the aged have not found their place. There will be turmoil and pain until they are integrated as a constructive element in our life.

The foremost characteristic of the American way of life is its focus on the individuals who are its constituent units; on the use and strengthening of their capacity and wholeness; and on the responsibility of social organization for their welfare. Although we do not yet understand all the implications and dynamics of working in this pattern that we call democracy, and which is "primarily social, moral and spiritual," the basic ethical principles must be maintained in every human relationship within it. They cannot be disregarded in resolving the problems of the aged. The principle that the essential unity of human society is applicable to the smallest as to the largest social unit has been recognized in broad program planning for comprehensive and coördinated service to the individual, through community councils, councils of social agencies, and national and international functional and coördinating agencies.

Nationally, the most significant positive force is our traditional concept of government as the people themselves acting collectively through chosen representatives for the individual and common good. The welfare or service functions of government are inherent in the

Preamble to the Constitution and in the Declaration of Independence, while the Emancipation Proclamation recognizes the fundamental human rights of a minority group. Since the writing of these historical documents, the functions of government that promote individual welfare have expanded continuously. Local, state, and national governments share, today, welfare functions that originally were primarily local. Social insurance has more recently been recognized as a Federal responsibility, and government has taken many steps to mold an environment in which individuals may plan effectively for their well-being.

Other public and private activities alleviate fears of dependency in old age. Wartime pay-roll deductions for government bonds are being continued by many. Individual provision for retirement through commercial insurance has increased. Federal, state, and local governments have established retirement programs, and some industries have recognized the need for additional protection of their employees. New developments in psychology and sociology are concerned with the aged. The mental and emotional effects of aging and the ways by which mental and physical alertness can be preserved in advancing years are subjects of study. Casework with aged individuals is changing in content and scope, because of our growing understanding of human behavior, because of legislation which recognizes their rights and brings great numbers into daily contact with government, and because their total number is increasing. Improved understanding of the process of aging and new methods of treatment are making it possible for many persons to live more comfortably and actively. Public and private health agencies and medical education are giving attention to the health aspects of aging. Public mental hospitals which have had an increasing percentage of older persons among first admissions are approaching more scientifically mental illness among the aged.

Other factors, however, have adverse implications for the aged. The increase in the proportion of persons over sixty-five is widely publicized. The fear that the working-age members of the population will be unable to carry adequately the burden of the others has some basis in reality. The decreasing size of families with the accompanying modifications in living patterns has affected the aged, for today few elderly persons can live helpfully and with a reasonable amount of privacy in the homes of married children. The aged are now a minor-

ity group that is in some respects able to assert its will in social planning. However, as the average age and the percentage of the aged rise, they may be less able to defend their rights as individuals and as a group, if physical and mental disability among them increases in proportion. Industrially, some developments may be predominantly unfavorable to aging persons, for technological advances generally have not taken account of the changing composition of the population. Conversion to a peacetime economy is resulting in voluntary and involuntary retirement of the elderly. The high degree of compartmentalization in education, medicine, commerce, and industry forces us into broken activities and relationships whenever life situations weaken our ability to weave the pieces into a whole.

The positive and negative factors in the current setting suggest the essentials of a constructive program. These essentials may be considered as programs and services to the aged, and to other groups, or as principles and guides for developing those programs which, separately and collectively, assist individuals to function as human beings and to preserve the internal unity of the community—local, state, national, and international. It is in the latter sense that I use the term "essentials." They can be reduced to two basic principles, philosophical in content, but with administrative implications.

The first is the democratic principle of the dignity and integrity of the individual—a concept that recognizes that man has an inalienable right and duty, because he is intelligent and free, to participate responsibly in using or rejecting available services, within the limits set by the rights of others.

The second essential may be stated as the community's responsibility for the welfare and safety of individuals and of the group, making available on a planned and coordinated basis a variety of services that recognize the unity of the individual's personality as well as his separate rights and duties. Voluntary and governmental organizations share this responsibility, though the division of responsibility between them is not static. It changes with other social factors, with the changing concept of government, and with the degree to which government represents individuals effectively. Government is responsible for seeing that needs are met and for taking action itself if the needs are not and cannot be met through individual and voluntary efforts. It is the only organization that can speak for the entire community.

I have been impressed with the lack of objective words for describing "the aged." Our ways of expressing ourselves and the meaning words acquire reveal the hold of traditional concepts on our minds. When we speak of adults, "growing older" signifies loss, failing strength, and the like. It has an overtone of helplessness not present when we apply it to other age groups. When we speak of a child, "growing older" means losing certain capacities and gaining others more socially useful, but we have given little thought as to whether the adult who is growing old gains thereby. We should not allow the negative connotations in our language to bias our search for an answer to its meaning for individuals and society.

In defining the term "aged," we might have related it to a certain age group—those sixty-five and over—in line with social security legislation. But that definition may hold only for this generation. In thirty years people may remain employed and physically vigorous until seventy or seventy-five. If we had related age to physiological changes, "old" would have an even less accurate meaning, for it varies from individual to individual. I am referring in my discussion to those individuals who have lost some of their capacity—physical or mental—to live independent and useful lives, and to the group who could still be independent if society did not consider them too old to be counted as functioning members.

Another difficulty arises out of our general experience and our acquaintance with the social and medical sciences, which usually approach a problem from concrete, separate, and identifiable elements. This separation of elements from a metaphysical entity leaves us still in the position of the bewildered student in Goethe's *Faust*. Mephistopheles, you recall, described and derided the scientific method as a breaking down of life into fragments and, in the process, losing the tie which makes them a living whole.

Let us examine the extent to which the two essentials permeate the programs that focus on economic security for the aged, welfare services, medical care, and spiritual needs:

Social insurance.—Government has accepted a high degree of responsibility for making a reality the right of the aged to means to maintain themselves. In 1935 the two Federal social insurance retirement programs—old age and survivors insurance and railroad retirement—were established, and Federal grants were authorized for state old age assistance programs. The old age and survivors insurance pro-

gram provides benefits, not only for the retired worker, but also for his dependent wife and dependent widow or parents over sixty-five. The railroad retirement program carries retirement and disability benefits for the worker and benefits for the deceased worker's dependent widow and parents over sixty-five. Perhaps from 50 to 60 percent of the civilian working population is covered in the two programs. Since coverage is not complete, they should be extended to safeguard the rights of all to economic security in old age. Coverage of self-employed, agricultural, and domestic workers and others now excluded from the program has been repeatedly recommended by the Social Security Board and the Federal Security Administrator.

Covered individuals contribute to their own benefits through a pay-roll tax deducted at the source. The programs provide for maximum participation by applicants for benefits in establishing their claims, and for notifying the agency of changes in their circumstances that may affect it. These insurances are designed to meet only one aspect of material security—providing a substitute for wages lost as a result of death or retirement after age sixty-five. There is national planning to coördinate programs, and it has been recommended that the old age and survivors insurance program be extended to provide benefits against wage loss due to prolonged incapacity. Coöperative arrangements for referral services have been developed with community agencies.

The benefits paid under the old age and survivors insurance program are not yet large enough to protect adequately the right of individuals to a decent standard of living, though it was expected originally that the programs would provide minimum security. The decline in the value of the dollar has been one factor in the shrinkage of this resource of the aged. It seems likely, too, that experience in administering the programs and changes in our social and economic life have affected our earlier concept of the content of a basic standard of living that government should assure. We need further consideration of the amount of security a social insurance program should provide, and increased attention to, and support of, individuals' efforts to plan for their own security.

Broad economic measures.—Supplementing the Federal security programs are broad measures designed to protect the right of individuals to support themselves and to plan for their advancing years. Protection of the right to bargain collectively and minimum wage

legislation have given the worker a status from which he can determine the economic value of his labor and protect himself from exploitation. The responsibility for the effectiveness of the present measures and their improvement is the responsibility of each of us, of voluntary associations, and of government.

Two other Federal programs are significant for individual economic planning. The work of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, established by the Employment Act of 1946, is set up to study and recommend measures that will stabilize employment, benefiting the aged directly and indirectly. Continuity of employment will increase the number of persons "permanently insured" and increase retirement benefits. The Federal deposit insurance program now safeguards personal efforts to maintain economic security through the insurance of the entire bank deposits of over 90 percent of depositors in more than 90 percent of the banks of the country.

Public assistance.—Industrialization and population changes have increased the number of aged who are financially dependent. Meeting their need for help without impinging upon their self-respect offers a proving ground for the application of our principles. However, our traditional emphasis on self-support and continued independence, the moralistic approach of earlier organized social work, the stigma of receiving public aid, antique laws requiring support by relatives, the rapid expansion of the programs, and many other factors continue to limit the application of the principles in public assistance programs. Legislation has often clarified principles in advance of practice, and the legislation authorizing Federal grants to states for public assistance establishes a broad framework for policies and practices that safeguard the essentials in a constructive program for the aged.

The Social Security Act recognizes basic rights of persons who apply for and receive assistance. Two rights of an individual in a democratic country—the right to assistance and the right to be heard in relation to unfavorable governmental action—are safeguarded by requiring state plans to provide for a hearing before the state agency. The right to appeal, recognized in some earlier laws, had not been widely exercised, and the principle is not well understood in many places. The right of the aggrieved old age assistance applicant or recipient to a fair hearing is still not a practical reality.

The right of the individual to be self-directing is written into the Social Security Act's definition of assistance as a money payment. Except for the comparatively small state and local assistance programs for the aged and blind and limited experience with cash assistance in the emergency assistance programs of the 1930s, the principle of cash assistance had not been previously accepted. Its theoretical and practical acceptance under the Social Security Act is a victory of principle. Restrictive practices exist today in some places, but they are infrequent in a case load of more than two million. There is still lack of clarity in theory as to what the right to assistance covers; the legal right of the needy aged person is limited by state and, in some instances, by local funds; basic human needs are not met in many places.

States differ considerably in their definition of a needy person. Some states specify kinds and amounts of property ownership that affect eligibility status. Within these, needy persons may retain for their own use reasonable reserves in the form of real or personal property. There is still too much activity in measuring specific requirements, but the trend is toward a basic minimum standard of living which the state will assure to all its residents and toward recognizing the right of the recipient to a free use of the money payment. There are significant achievements. The national average payment increased from \$18.75 in December, 1936, to \$35.31 in December, 1946; there has been a progressive recognition of additional consumption items that should be met from public funds.

The state programs differ also in their recognition of the applicant as a total personality with other than monetary needs. The methods of social casework that would contribute to such an approach have not yet been applied widely enough. Many agencies have been concerned about other than cash requirements, such as sheltered care for the aged and medical services, and include the cost of such services in the money payment.

The Social Security Act requires that a state plan "must provide safeguards which restrict the use or disclosure of information concerning applicants and recipients to purposes directly connected with the administration of" the program. Publication of the names of recipients or their use for commercial or political purposes is forbidden. In spite of the tradition in social work that the agency-client

relationship is confidential, this provision has not been universally accepted in theory. There have been some gross violations under the Social Security programs.

The old age assistance programs indicate a recognition of community responsibility for the needy aged, a responsibility often more adequately assumed than that for other groups in the population. In a definition of who is in need and the amount of assistance for which they are eligible, the aged are in some programs a preferred group. There is a growing participation by public assistance agencies in councils of social agencies and other planning bodies and in developing methods for referrals to other agencies. This activity in program coördination is a new experience for many public agencies which had not previously defined their relationships to voluntary groups.

The issues are not clearly isolated, but in these days that hold so many threats for individuals, we see that public assistance must be strengthened at many points. Questions pertinent to the first principle include: What is need? How can it be measured equitably with the least intrusion into the personal life of the individual? How can assistance be offered so that the applicant is wholly free to accept or reject additional services? How can his participation be increased in establishing eligibility? Are there situations in which the rights of the individual are not served by a money payment, and if so, by what criteria can this be determined?

In relation to the second principle, we are not agreed on the standard of living that should be maintained for needy persons from tax funds. Do voluntary agencies have responsibilities for meeting economic need? Should assistance be administered on a categorical basis, or would a single program for all needy persons be more equitable? How can the services of other public and private agencies be more effectively coördinated with old age assistance?

Shelter.—Appropriate housing and sheltered care for the aged have not been available in adequate quantities. Newspapers continue to publicize the horrible conditions under which some aged persons are forced to live. Wider acceptance of the right of all to decent living quarters and clarification of the responsibility of government, private groups, and commercial concerns are goals still to be sought. Greater opportunity should be afforded the aged to express their interest in living arrangements, their location and accessibility to old friends and neighbors. Isolated communities for the aged have little

to commend them, unless they are planned as a result of special interest or develop naturally as the population of a given community grows older. A few institutions have varied programs that meet the changing needs of aged persons for housing and specialized care.

Programs to meet personal and social needs.—In the twenties casework services to the aged consisted largely in recommending institutional care and in providing supportive treatment, economic and medical. We cannot say whether this emphasis was due to the fact that the few aged clients who requested service were not likely to get along in a noninstitutional setting and gave no promise of rehabilitation, or to the lack of community resources. Possibly social workers shared the popular belief that for old people we can do little more than make them comfortable, or that we must not allow them to interfere with the adjustment of the younger generations. The vigor which the aged have shown during the last decade in presenting and arguing their rights have taught us that they are a group to be respected for their contribution to the art of living rather than to be kept out of the way.

The changes in emphasis and quality of services to the aged parallel earlier development in other casework areas. This change has come with the recognition that little is gained in planning for instead of planning with the aged person; that techniques that focus on the aged person's disability rather than on his strength hold little promise for a resolution of his problems; and that services are acceptable and useful to him as they strengthen his capacity to command his own situation.

Experience and principle reject environmental services which center on shelter and three meals a day. We have discovered that lack of occupation and lack of recreation are as destructive factors in the life of the elderly as they are in that of the child or younger adult. Many of the aged share certain physical and psychological characteristics. In casework, however, the approach is not based on preconceived notions of general characteristics, but on seeking to find out what the individual wants, what he can do, and how he wants to use the worker and agency.

Casework is perhaps one of the fields that lays greatest stress on the unity of the human personality and the interdependence of individuals. The number of qualified practitioners is not large, and neither under public nor under private auspices has the community

made casework services accessible to all the aged who could use them. Moreover, the contribution that casework can make to specialized services, such as public assistance, medical care, and institutional care, has not been fully recognized.

Programs to meet health needs.—We are also concerned with the health needs of the aged. Current medical services recognize community responsibility for providing health services and for coördinating governmental and voluntary services. There are differences of opinion on the extent of governmental responsibility. We need further experimentation and study of this matter as well as of the coördination of the health services with other community programs. We know there is room for the fuller participation of the aged in the responsible use of such services.

There is no argument that individualization of the patient and a regard for all his rights, his capacities, and his environment may increase our skill in treating him. It may retard the tempo in studying the causes and prevention of specific illness but it will doubtless implement our knowledge of his total personality. There is no inherent conflict in the two goals. It is a matter of giving additional thought to how both can be achieved, while adhering to a respect for the individual without which other goals can have little meaning. There is cause for concern about the violation of rights in special programs. For example, advocates of euthanasia are seeking legislative approval for voluntary "mercy killing," a provision that might affect the aged most seriously.

Programs to meet spiritual needs.—In considering services to meet these three types of need I have not meant to imply that these are the only needs of the aged. Man has a spiritual nature which demands opportunities to worship, to give and receive affection, to cultivate his will, and to know and appreciate, if not to create, the beautiful in art, sculpture, music, and literature. He craves the most complete fulfillment of his personality possible. Services that satisfy other needs contribute to the growth of his spiritual nature. A minimum of security and physical well-being is necessary for the majority of people to develop fully their spiritual powers, and specific spiritual and religious services, therefore, are important. Too little attention has been given both to the needs and to the resources of the aged in this area. The physical limitations of older persons present a particular problem to the churches. In a few places there are services that with

great vitality and inventiveness bring to the aged opportunities to cultivate their intellectual and artistic interests and develop their talents. The results have been dramatic.

Far more than I would wish I have used such words as "help," "assist," and "support." I do not mean to say that there are not many instances where the younger generation has to assume responsibilities for those who are both old and sick. In using the words "helping" and "supporting," we are apt to blur the principle that we should primarily remove from our minds and from our pattern of living obstacles which make it impossible for the aged to live their own lives. In the minds of men there are forces undermining social unity that seem to press particularly on the aged. In our society, with its emphasis on planning and managing an efficient social economy, the rights of those who do not make an obvious and tangible contribution to that economy are seriously threatened. I would like to emphasize the necessity of relating programs and services for the aged to the essential principles of the worth of the individual and his special contribution to the common welfare. Wherever there is disregard of human rights to the "least of these" the whole suffers. In assaying programs for any special group the reagent is the total welfare of mankind and the integrity of the individual.

PLANNING SERVICES FOR THE AGED

I. BY THE STATE WELFARE DEPARTMENT

By Raymond M. Hilliard

NINETY YEARS AGO the average American child could expect to live only forty years. A child born in the United States today has a life expectancy of more than sixty-four years. Having reached the age of sixty, a man may expect to live an additional fourteen and a half years and a woman an additional sixteen. In the United States, according to the 1940 census, 6.8 percent of the population was more than sixty-five years of age. Current estimates indicate that by 1980, 14.4 percent will be in that age group. The ratio of dependency to the population in all categories, including the aged, has been on the upgrade for over a year. During that period Illinois old age assistance rolls, for example, have increased at the rate of almost five hundred persons a month. This is due partly to the fact that we are living in unsettled times. The major reason, however, appears to be that with increased medical knowledge and the elimination of high mortality resulting from acute diseases, more people are living longer.

With longevity has emerged a new problem, that of finding for the increasing army of older people a proper niche—one that will be useful to society and sustaining to them. Before we can do this, however, we must get rid of the notion that "chronological" age, that is, the attainment of sixty or sixty-five, automatically marks the end of one's active productive participation in the economic life of the community. People reaching these ages are often overwhelmed by the feeling that life is over, that their lives must stagnate from that point to the end. Unfortunately, most communities have helped to foster that sense of futility and ineffectiveness. Pension laws, valuable and important though they are, encourage retirement from active life without regard to whether the individual concerned is still capable of useful effort. Industry all too often emphasizes youth and ignores older applicants, frequently to its own detriment and invariably to the detriment of the aging man or woman, still alert and able, who wants to be and can be self-sustaining.

Preliminary to considering the type of planning for the aged that can be developed by a state public welfare organization, it is necessary to evaluate what, fundamentally, all old people want and need. Once that has been established, it is important to determine the most satisfactory and most effective methods for meeting these wants and needs.

Basically, old people are like all other people. They want, primarily, financial security, freedom from concern about their next meal, and freedom from worry about how to pay for the roof over their heads. They want security, not just for today or tomorrow, but for the rest of their lives. The aged need good food; sometimes they require special diets. The aged need adequate housing. They need the sort of living arrangements that are best suited to their individual situations. Those of the aged who are infirm or ill want desperately to know that good medical care is available and will be provided regularly as needed. They do not want hurried and routine medical service, they want personal attention and the kind of care that fits their particular illness. Most of all, old people want to feel that they still matter to somebody, that they are important and useful to their family and their community, that they are not merely being tolerated until they die. They want to be considered as individuals, each with his own ideas and problems, and not just as a portion of a group loosely known as "the aged." Moreover, for most of them, the need to know that upon death they will be decently buried with dignity and respect is very real.

These objectives are not very different from the average objectives of the average individual. If a state agency starts with this premise its problem becomes one of planning how to meet the requirements of the needy aged and of assuring the establishment of machinery best adapted to that end. Planning for fostering and maintaining in aged indigents a feeling of continuing usefulness and dignity means working largely with intangibles and calls for sympathetic understanding and skill on the part of the caseworker. The well-adjusted, healthy old person presents no problem since he generally keeps up his relationships with old friends, participates in community activities, continues to secure odd jobs, or remains active in the management of his own home or the home of the relative with whom he lives.

A reorientation in our thinking is essential to sound public planning for the welfare of our senior citizens. This reorientation can be

made simpler if we remember that during the war older workers, returning to industry to help relieve labor shortages, gave excellent accounts of themselves and proved that senescence is not merely a matter of chronological age. The promotion in any community of a healthful economic environment includes the systematic conservation and utilization of human resources. One of the greatest untapped reservoirs of unused human resources is that of the older men and women who should be retained in productive enterprises as long as they are able to perform satisfactorily. Every community should plan toward that end. Continued activity will immeasurably increase the health and happiness of older persons, relieve the community of much of the burden of public support, and add to the total economic output of the region in which they reside.

What can the state, as distinguished from private community organizations, do to meet the needs of the aged? Firstly, it can provide coördination, leadership, and stimulation in all fields involving services and assistance to older people. Secondly, it can discharge its legal obligations for financial aid and services to the needy aged effectively, sympathetically, imaginatively, and efficiently, at the lowest cost consistent with sound administration. Thirdly, it can help to make preventive social science a reality by attacking dependency at its source and eliminating, wherever possible, the causes of indigency in old age.

The state government is in a strategic position among welfare and assistance agencies. It generally has resources and facilities, in terms of dollars and staff, that are not available to most private agencies. It can, therefore, perform a distinct service to the community by taking the lead in organizing and compiling information on current needs of the aged and the extent to which they are unmet. This sounds difficult, but it is, in reality, a simple procedure. It entails searching out community leaders with professional knowledge in the area and combining the collective wisdom of all of them so that a comprehensive program may be designed. It means seeking the advice, not only of social workers, but of physicians, dentists, nurses, hospital administrators, and nursing home operators, of homes for the aged, voluntary health agencies, family and child welfare agencies, of public officials, nutritionists and dietitians, and occupational therapists, and of schools, churches, civic organizations, and industry. It means combining representatives from all these groups into a planning committee

that knows what it wants to do and devises means for doing it. The enormous interest generated with respect to chronic illness and invalidism among the aged is an excellent illustration of community awareness engendered by combined thinking and action.

There is an additional contribution that the state can make. It can work with interested groups in developing a body of literature that will foster the evolution of casework skills in dealing with old folks. Such a body of literature has long existed in other social welfare fields, notably in relation to children, but not enough attention has been directed toward a similar objective in dealing with older people. The adoption of the thirteen-point program announced in 1946 by the Federal Bureau of Public Assistance's Conference on Sheltered Care for the Aged would do a great deal toward accomplishing this aim. The Conference suggested, among other things, that "some of the methodology used in child welfare services should be adapted to the field of the aged." It also urged that,

private agencies—religious and foundations—consider the development of new types of services and activities for the aged, explorations as to what the aged want for themselves, including various types of living arrangements in groups and outside of institutions, the needs of the aged in rural communities, and methods of uniform institutional accounting.

It must be borne in mind that public agencies are circumscribed in their activities by the laws under which they operate. Certain portions of the laws are usually flexible enough to permit easy adaptation to changing circumstances; other portions, however, are framed to meet conditions existing at the time they were enacted, and can become burdensome and ineffective. Residence and citizenship requirements, for example, automatically remove some deserving groups from the benefits of our assistance laws. The ceilings on old age pension grants, while perhaps necessary for sound administration, occasionally work hardships in a period of rising prices. Moreover, public agencies, because of their size and the laws under which they necessarily operate, are not always equipped to meet emergent, new, or unexpected situations. State governments, therefore, should work in close harmony with private welfare agencies so that the spheres of each may be clearly delineated. Older people should have somewhere they can go for help when they are in difficulty, and a clear understanding as to division of field should exist between public and private agencies. In this manner dollars can be saved, duplication

avoided, and service rendered for all the problems besetting our older citizens.

Basic to all this, of course, is the obligation of the state to provide financial assistance to older people in need. There are two groups of old people with which we need not concern ourselves. The first consists of those who are already a part of an economically self-sufficient family group and who live with their children and their children's children in a unified family arrangement. Happy, indeed, are those old people who are fortunate enough to be so situated. However, it is only realistic to face the fact that economic and social conditions have changed, that the large family dwelling with room for parents, grandparents, and old maid aunts is a thing of the past, and that people now live in compact quarters which seldom have any surplus of rooms or space. Likewise, there is less inclination on the part of children to care for aged parents than there was in earlier times.

The second group consists of those who have managed to become financially independent. The only problem with respect to these is that in advanced senility they may be imposed upon by rapacious kin and receive, for obvious reasons, too much attention rather than not enough.

A substantial group, however, do not fall into these two fortunate classifications. In Illinois 22.6 percent of the population aged sixty-five and over received in February, 1947, a total of more than five million dollars in public funds because they had no means of support, and this despite the fact that Illinois law requires contributions to aged parents by responsible children. Of course, in a complex industrialized economy, adequate financial grants to the needy aged are essential. In a very real sense mechanization of industry has transformed many of our old people into our new orphans.

Since the number of persons who are sixty-five years of age or older is steadily increasing in relation to the total population, we must direct our attention toward slashing the enormous percentage of old people requiring public support. Otherwise, the cost will eventually snowball into an unbearable figure. From 1930 to 1940, for example, the proportion of people in the United States older than sixty-five increased 35 percent, almost five times the general increase in population. Yet, in all humanity, we cannot slash the percentage arbitrarily. Dependency can be prevented, and although we

have just made a beginning, the prospect of reducing the ratio of dependency among older people is excellent.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the term "aged and infirm" has been used so frequently that many people habitually associate the one with the other. That association is valid only to a minor degree. The "aged" are not necessarily the "infirm," and the "infirm" are not necessarily the "aged."

As we strive to maintain and prolong good health in later life we must deal with the problem of chronic illness. There is a disposition to assume that invalidism is limited to the dependent aged only. Of course, this is not true. Infirmity affects all persons regardless of their economic situation. There is, it must be conceded, a vicious circle relationship between chronic illness and dependency because indigency often results from the enormous financial strain imposed by long-term illness. Moreover, chronic illness is by no means confined to older persons although it has a high rate of incidence among them. In Illinois, as of 1940, there were approximately 586,000 persons sixty-five years of age and over. Of these, 31,000, or 12 percent, were estimated to be chronic invalids, that is, persons with chronic disease or permanent impairment so severe that they required care from others. An additional 142,000 were afflicted with chronic disease or impairment which might, at any time, produce chronic invalidism.

Not all the chronically ill require care in institutions. For many, the best solution is home care and such supplementation as can be provided by visiting nurses and housekeepers. Unfortunately, as the illness becomes more disabling the invalid requires more and more care, and few families can provide such care except at the expense of having a family member quit work or forego marriage.

For these invalids some form of institutionalization or sheltered care is necessary. The type of care required will vary with the degree of illness. For some, care in a hospital with adequate facilities is necessary; for others, all that is required is good nursing care. Only a small percentage of sufferers from chronic disease are without funds. While plans to provide adequate care for chronics must of necessity embrace the care of indigent chronics, we must not lose sight of the fact that there is also an urgent need to make available at moderate cost facilities for those who can pay their own way.

In the United States facilities simply do not exist to care for these

people. Our general hospitals are already overcrowded, and the chronically ill further tax their capacities. Moreover, even if general hospital space were available it would not, in many cases, be adequate. General hospitals have traditionally been designed, constructed, and equipped for the acutely ill, not for chronics. In many, if not most, places a chronic long-term patient is occupying a bed badly needed for an acute case. Moreover, the expense involved in caring for a chronically ill person in a general hospital is enormous.

There is no one solution to this problem. In California several remarkable developments have already set a pattern for other states. The Rancho Los Amigos, the Los Angeles County institution for the aged and chronically ill, has so adequately combined nursing and medical care, vocational rehabilitation, occupational therapy, and adult education in its treatment of older patients that it has actually sent large numbers of them back into the community, where they are now leading normal lives. The San Francisco County institution for the aged and chronically ill, called Laguna Honda, has, through its close affiliation with the medical schools, established a progressive and highly successful program of medical care. Both these institutions are worthy of study by officials of any state interested in developing plans for public shelter care for the aged.

In Illinois we have launched an attack on many fronts. We have provided for the licensing of private nursing homes. We have stimulated the utilization of existing public institutions by encouraging the conversion of county homes into modern, well-equipped nursing homes for the infirm and chronically ill. It is literally amazing how much a relatively small expenditure for rehabilitation of existing facilities can accomplish in the way of providing cheerful livable quarters. Illinois has done its utmost to encourage the conversion of private homes for the aged by offering to pay the cost involved in caring for old age pension recipients admitted to the home and by keeping in close coöperative touch with the people engaged in operating these homes. The commingling of private pay patients and the indigent in public and private homes for the aged is an extremely encouraging development.

In addition to adapting existing facilities the state can lead in planning for the erection of new facilities. When new homes are constructed, however, we must not repeat the mistakes of the past. Certainly we have learned that the isolation of old people in the coun-

try has harmful psychological effects upon them and serves no useful purpose. New structures should be built in the cities and towns close to, or if possible as a part of, a general hospital, so as to permit transfer to the hospital when acute illness develops and when diagnostic or specialized treatment is required. These homes should be close to transportation centers and business districts so that older people can participate as closely as they desire in the life of the community.

In Illinois we have been so concerned with chronic illness that we have given little thought to plans for congregate living of older persons who are perfectly able to take care of themselves. The best that the community has been able to offer is the occasional apartment hotel catering to older persons of some means, and the boardinghouse. Although some boardinghouses, particularly those offering board and room to just a few elderly persons, are perfectly satisfactory, the boardinghouse, particularly the large proprietary one, attempting to house large numbers of aged men and women, represents a most serious aspect of the present situation. Usually they are overcrowded, unsafe, unsightly, of varying degrees of cleanliness, and not equipped to provide any service beyond shelter and feeding. It must be recognized that the boardinghouse problem is intertwined with the housing problem generally. Likewise, it is well to remember that some aged persons prefer this type of congregate living. A boardinghouse, meeting proper standards, can be considered suitable in planning for the care of the aged who are able-bodied; it can never be utilized as a facility suitable for chronic invalids.

In some communities, efforts have been made to arrange for the boarding of aged persons, even invalids, in private homes. In some cases the aged person or his relatives can pay the cost of such care; in other cases governmental assistance can be available. This possibility has not been explored fully; it is mentioned merely as deserving of consideration.

More and more, social welfare leaders are beginning to recognize that the only permanent solution to the problems of indigency and dependency among older persons lies in seeking means for preventing the development of the conditions that bring them about. It is futile from any standpoint to rely exclusively upon the financial grant as a means for ameliorating poverty. Each community must mobilize its opinion and resources for the purpose of attacking the dependency of older people at its source. A few million dollars spent in medical

and scientific research to reduce the incidence of illness among the aged; to minimize deficiency diseases resulting from malnutrition and inadequate diet that strike with such crippling effectiveness in later life; to study diseases of old people, such as rheumatism, arthritis, heart and kidney diseases, and cancer; and to prolong the enjoyment of good health, will yield immeasurable dividends financially, morally, and socially. In Illinois we are planning to create an institute for geriatrics dedicated to these purposes, and more and more thinking throughout the states is being directed toward similar goals.

For able-bodied older persons who can no longer be employed in the occupations they have habitually pursued, retraining and re-education for tasks adjusted to their new capacities are essential. In the meantime chronic invalidism remains our No. 1 health problem and indigency our No. 1 social problem. They are growing and they will continue to grow. They are also extremely costly problems. Which is better: that we plan for increased old age pensions and excellent care for our thousands of chronic invalids—and stop there—or that we seek out the causes of dependency and chronic illness, deal with them, and prevent people from becoming dependent or chronically ill?

II. IN THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

By Mary K. Guiney

THE LEGAL AND PROCEDURAL REGULATIONS established by the state in partnership with the Federal Government come to life in the local public assistance office. It is here that the people come in trouble, and the stereotyped processes which the law seems to require are applied to them through a personal relationship. This personalization brings to light many needs not met by the assistance grant however tenderly administered it may be. It is true that the caseworker's primary responsibility is to establish the initial and continuing eligibility for assistance, but she cannot overlook the hunger not satisfied by bread, even if the service indicated is not within the immediate function of the agency.

This discussion will deal with an experiment in mobilizing community resources to meet some of the intangible, unmet needs of old

age assistance recipients in Detroit. Progress has been slow, frustrations many, almost to the point of overwhelming us at times, and we wondered if the gain was worth the pain. In order to see how far we have come it is necessary to go back to the starting point.

The Social Security amendments of 1939 brought about a reorganization of public assistance in Michigan, and a new agency, the Wayne County Bureau of Social Aid, came into being in 1940 with a new staff, new regulations and restrictions, but with an old case load of 12,500 people old in years, and wise in the ways of getting relief. Although they were used to being shifted and shunted, to the Welfare Department, to the state Old Age Assistance, and now to the Bureau of Social Aid, they were poorly prepared for the transfer and were fearful of the unknown. Then there was a new clientele of 7,500 with applications pending, waiting on the threshold, full of high hopes for security in their old age. With case loads frozen, their only hope of getting on the rolls was the death of someone already registered. They kept coming to the office, writing letters, going to see officials who telephoned and wrote letters to ask "When?" Several staff members were kept busy answering inquiries about the pending load.

Passing through the waiting room on any one day, a worker felt the pull of a dozen or more hands from clients waiting "to talk to the lady." "I want to ask you . . ." they would begin, or, "I haven't seen anyone in so long . . ." A dozen lonely people did not seem so bad, but projecting the problem of that dozen to the entire 20,000 made it apparent that a large percentage of our citizens was affected and that the interest and attention of the community were required. An appeal was made to the Detroit Council of Social Agencies. A working committee was formed with representatives from the Council of Churches, the Catholic Charities, and the Jewish Welfare Federation, as well as from the Bureau of Social Aid and the Community Chest, and there was a sponsoring committee of about fifty citizens.

The committee launched a program of "friendly visiting" which has been carried on for the past six years. The Friendly Visitors is not an adjunct of, or a creation of the Bureau of Social Aid. It is not a complaint bureau through which adjustment in old age assistance grants can or will be made. It is not a social casework agency. The sole concern of the group is, through a united, organized program

of visiting, to enrich the lives of those among our aging citizens who face the future in spiritual and social isolation.

Each visitor is given a period of in-service training. She has a manual which sets forth essential facts of the law under which assistance is given and which helps her to define her role as a volunteer. Regular meetings are held with the volunteer supervising her group to make reports and compare ideas. She has frequent contacts with the bureau caseworker and supervisor. Referrals to the Friendly Visitors are made by the caseworkers in the Bureau of Social Aid after clearance with the clients. They give a brief report of the client's background and special interests and any specific request, such as to be taken to a clinic or to church, or to be furnished reading material. Such requests offer a natural and easy approach for the visitor. Many are simple pleas for someone to talk to. One old man who had lost his job as a night watchman when he was involved in an automobile accident, and had spent two and one-half years in prison, told his worker that he had no friends or acquaintances. No one in the cheap rooming house where he lived even spoke to him, and he often wished to be back in prison where he had someone to eat with and "there were people around."

The following story from the notebook of a Friendly Visitor illustrates the purpose and value of friendly visits to an old person. Through it may be seen the returns of one investment in friendship. The story begins with the complete report which the visitor made of her first four visits and is followed by a summary of the later visits:

August 21, 1940.—The Friendly Visitor called on Mrs. Bierer. Mrs. Bierer, seventy-five years old, lives in a very small light-housekeeping room. She was in an unhappy state of mind, and for a few minutes I really felt helpless so far as being able to relieve her depressing outlook on life in general. It developed that although she had been confined to her room for over a year, no one had visited her from the church. This she considered a personal affront because she had at one time contributed to St. Patrick's. She said she thought she had suffered a slight stroke on her right side three years ago; since then she had been unable to use her right hand to any extent. Everything seemed wrong. The more she talked, the more I liked her, and after she had told me everything that was wrong, I found it rather simple to rectify at least part of her grievances. A priest from St. Patrick's was very glad to visit her, which he did the same afternoon, and he will take the Sacrament to her regularly from now on.

August 29, 1940.—I found my client in a much better frame of mind and was delighted to see that she remembered that I told her I was knitting for

the Red Cross. Her interest had been aroused to the extent that she had got out some yarn and, much to her astonishment, she had found that her right hand was not so helpless as she had thought. During the few days between my visits she had knit a nice pair of bedsocks and a scarf. She accepted my suggestion that she knit for the Red Cross and was cheered by the thought that she could do something for someone else. On this visit I took a small green plant in a little gay pot and was quite unprepared for the way it was received. It appears that it had been months since anyone had out of pure friendship given her anything.

September 6, 1940.—Mrs. Bierer's general health is much improved. She looks better; her hair shows the results of curlers, and she says that my visits have opened a new life for her. She insisted on serving coffee and biscuits, and I could see that my having this little lunch with her gave her great pleasure. I find that she has a son and daughter in town, but she appears unwilling to talk of them. They apparently have left her pretty much to herself. I thoroughly enjoy the time I spend with Mrs. Bierer, and it is gratifying to see the change, all for the better, which is coming over her.

September 16, 1940.—Mrs. Bierer told me she had been ill since my last visit, but the fact that she had my telephone number had been a great consolation to her. I had assured her that I would be very glad to come to her whenever she needed me. She really is not well. Although she talked so much of her troubles on my first visit, she makes light of them now, and is much more cheerful than I would be under the same conditions. She takes great satisfaction, although she is at considerable pains to act otherwise, in the fact that her knitting is much better than mine.

I was deeply interested in the fact that years and years ago when she was raising a family in northern Michigan, and there was no church in that particular town, Mrs. Bierer carried her kitchen table and some chairs to the hall where a missionary priest came occasionally to say Mass. Her table was used as the altar, and she kept the vestments at her house between visits. I am learning a great deal from my visits to Mrs. Bierer and really believe I look forward to these visits as much as, or even more than, she does.

MRS. W. C. KLEM, *Visitor*

The interesting story of friendly visits to Mrs. Bierer continues with a brief summary:

October, 1940 to June, 1941.—During the seven months from October to June the Friendly Visitor made almost weekly calls. Much has happened.

By November Mrs. Bierer and the visitor had become good friends because Mrs. Bierer was convinced that the visitor was not "investigating" for her "old age assistance check."

December for Mrs. Bierer was different from what it had been in years. On Christmas Day the Visitor called with a gift—a new cup and saucer, a shiny new teaspoon, strawberry jam in a jam jar, tea balls, and a napkin,

all as nice as the ones Mrs. Bierer used to have. Mrs. Bierer had knit some bedsocks from the scraps of yarn which had been given her and tied them up as a Christmas gift for the Visitor.

Sunshine is scarce in a room like Mrs. Bierer's at four dollars a week. In fact, there is really none, and the plant which the Friendly Visitor brought died. It has been replaced by a hardier one, and the Visitor is trying to find a new room with some sunshine.

Mrs. Bierer gets some mail now. The Visitor discovered that Mrs. Bierer's mailman left only an old age assistance check once each month. Now he leaves greeting cards from the Friendly Visitor. They can be re-read many times.

Much more has happened. Too much to report here.

Before the advent of the Friendly Visitor, Mrs. Bierer was a case number for social security. Now she really counts. She has one friend who provides, not social security, but the security of friendship.¹

As more funds were designated by the state and liberalization of eligibility conditions continued, anxiety about the program decreased and the aging gained in security and status from the income which they received regularly each month. The staff has experienced less pressure with the increase in personnel and lowering of case loads. Although we are still far from the goal, workers have had more time to concern themselves with unmet needs of the clients and to participate in community planning for them.

At a conference with representatives of a large private clinic, we were told that the aging go to the clinic with made-up illnesses in order to have contact with people and take valuable time which doctors and nurses need for the more acutely ill. They are often seen in the railway stations sitting among the crowd, going nowhere.

At the Institute for Family Life held in Detroit in 1945, Oskar Schulze, of the Benjamin Rose Institute, described the social clubs in Cleveland. Members of the staff were inspired to develop similar opportunities for Detroit's old people. The Friendly Visitors committee was urged to expand their program to organize recreational groups. Representatives of the City Parks and Recreation Commission were invited to meet with a committee of the staff and the volunteers. The result was a party at the Brewster Recreation Center, which is located in a thickly populated Negro area, adjacent to the Brewster Homes, a public Negro housing project. Two hundred elderly Negroes whose names were supplied by the staff were invited by a per-

¹ Material supplied by Helen Farley Smith, Council of Social Agencies, Metropolitan Detroit, June, 1941.

sonal call from a volunteer. One hundred and sixty-five came. The recreation department provided someone to play the piano and lead the group in singing. There was a movie and then they were served cake and tea. The Friendly Visitors and the caseworkers helped to keep things going. When the guests were asked if they would like to come again and form a club for regular meetings, the response was enthusiastic. At the next meeting, they elected a president and an imposing slate of officers and drew up a constitution and bylaws. They called themselves the "Friendly Hearts."

Attendance during the first year of the new club averaged well over a hundred. A typical meeting opened with the singing of spirituals and patriotic songs. This was followed by prayers, with great rivalry about who should be the leader, for there are many members who claim to be "licensed," if not "ordained" ministers of the Gospel. Next came the minutes and reports of the secretaries, and finally the new business, all carried on with elaborate parliamentary procedure.

The club held a summer picnic and several canning bees. The members went in groups to the farmers' market to make their purchases. They took the food to the kitchen of a near-by church where, under the direction of a Recreation Department staff member, they put up cans of vegetables and fruit. Later the women had sewing bees and remodeled clothing for children in the neighborhood.

At the end of the first year the club had a birthday party to which were invited representatives from the city government, the schools, and the social agencies. The Department of Parks and Recreation sent flowers and two huge pink-frosted cakes, each with a red jelly heart and one candle in the center.

A member of the Recreation Commission was so impressed by the club that he suggested that the Friendly Hearts have a club room of their own where there could be easy chairs and cooky and tobacco jars. The auditorium chairs are of the camp chair variety and not good for lounging. The club rooms were equipped for the games of youth, and there was no provision in the fiscal budget for leisure-time equipment for the aging. Leaders of the youth groups were called in to discuss ways of furnishing such a room. They said that they would stage a benefit boxing show for the Friendly Hearts. Other centers in Detroit agreed to send contestants, but there was no money to pay for referees. Letters were sent to professional boxers who began their careers at Brewster, asking them to donate their services

for the cause. Twelve readily accepted with World Champion Joe Louis heading the list. Every ticket was sold, and the crowd overflowed into the street. There was enough money from the proceeds to purchase flowered drapes, rocking chairs, davenports, some quilting frames, and an old-fashioned organ.

The success of the Friendly Hearts' venture prompted the Recreation Commission to include activities for the aging in their regular program, and plans are in the making for establishing clubs in other centers throughout the city.

There are now four nonsectarian and two Jewish groups, in addition to the Friendly Hearts. They choose their own names, elect their officers, and plan their programs. The programs differ according to the interests of the group. The Cass Seniors, from a white rooming-house area on the West Side, meet in a community church. The following is the program of one of their meetings prepared by the seventy-six-year-old master of ceremonies of the day:

THE CASS SENIOR CLUB

Master of Ceremonies	MRS. SARA BACHUS
Song by Club	
Song	MRS. PRAHAM
Violin Solo, "Old Refrain"	MR. A. CROMPTON
Song by Club	
Jig	MRS. SARA BACHUS
Mr. Murphy and His Barber Shop Quartet	
Poem	MRS. GERSTENBERGER
Recitation	MR. EYRE
Club Singing, "God Bless America" and "God Be with You 'til We Meet Again"	
Chain March, "Let Me Call You Sweetheart"	
Request for volunteers for next program	
Darts, prizes, refreshments	
Mizpah	

The press has shown interest in the groups, and the publicity has helped in securing passes for boat rides, concerts, and flower shows. For those who belong to clubs, holidays no longer go by without a party. Someone comes to see them when they are sick, they have pic-

nics, they dance and sing again. At one meeting, a member pounded the table for attention and shouted, "God bless the Friendly Visitors Committee! They should organize clubs like these all over the world." The committee plans at least to organize clubs like these all over the city of Detroit.

Recent developments in Detroit bid fair to assure the aging in the city's population their share of community planning. The Family Division of the Council of Social Agencies has a committee on the aged, and the Health Division has a committee on the chronically ill and aged. Various aspects of the problem are being considered by subcommittees made up of representatives from the fields of health, social group work and recreation, old age assistance, institutions for the aged, visiting housekeepers, and religious and volunteer organizations. The Young Women's Christian Association is considering the inclusion of activities for the elderly in their program. It is to be hoped that other organizations that traditionally serve youth will follow this example.

The desire for social relationship has no age limitation. The positive values for those attending clubs are seen by caseworkers, who report greatly improved health, a noticeable "sprucing up," and in the pride with which these elderly people tell of their participation—a violinist nearly eighty "hadn't played a tune in years."

The shift from the agrarian economy to a highly industrialized way of life has removed the usefulness of the aging person at the hearth. The recreation clubs have made it apparent that old people can still make a personal contribution to others. They visit sick members, bake cookies for the club parties, send "get well" cards; in other words, they still are a vital part of the daily world.

In planning for the aging, we are planning for ourselves. America, "the land of opportunity for youth," must be made the land of opportunity for the old as well; for all the people are valuable in a democracy.

CURRENT FRONTIERS IN SOCIAL GROUP WORK

By Clara A. Kaiser

THE BRAVE NEW WORLD which was to have been forged through releasing and guiding the creative forces of group life lies shattered and grim around our ears. The political and economic conditions of 1918 are even more extensively prevalent today. Does faith in the positive potentials of group life still have validity in the light of the happenings of the past thirty years? Evidently it does for those of us who call ourselves social group workers. It was during these years that we formulated our philosophy and attempted to define our methods of helping people to realize the values inhering in group life. In spite of the cosmic disasters which we have seen, we must believe that human associations are as subject to control and direction as are the forces of the physical world over which we now exercise such appalling command. Within the forces determining social relationships reside the same conflicting and contradictory elements which lie in the forces of atomic energy.

Group life does not automatically result in furthering human welfare and happiness. It may be frustrating or tyrannizing to the individual and destructive or stagnating to society. This was brought home to me more sharply than ever before when I worked with the people in the displaced persons' camps in Germany. The individual in his desperate need for some security found it only in his own nationality, political, or cultural group. Although sharing the same physical facilities and enduring the same privations and uncertain future, each national group became increasingly ingrown, suspicious, and hostile toward the others. The children were jealously guarded from developing friendly relationships with those of another nationality. There were among the leaders some who recognized the fallacy of this attitude, but they found it difficult to combat. Language, cultural, and religious differences were not the chief obstacles—they lay in the fierce need for individual survival through group survival. Minority peoples subjected to discrimination and insecurity must always

seek protection in the group, but this in turn hampers the individual from freely choosing his group associations in terms of wider interests and needs and makes more insurmountable the barriers between groups. Disparity of opportunity, exploitation of the few by the many, or the many by the few, disdain for human rights and justice, must always result in emphasizing the combative rather than the coöperative elements in group life. This does not mean that groups formed to fight injustice and to protect against tyranny are not vital to human progress. We have only to recall the heroic and effective work of underground groups in Nazi-occupied countries or workers who banded together to fight for economic freedom through unions to realize the necessity for such groups. But it is only in a sick society that group life is based largely on protecting one group from the encroachments of others. Today in our own country we see an ever multiplying number of groups representing the special interests of some segments of society whose sole purpose it is to combat the interests of another segment. Democracy, to become a reality, must be rooted in the concept of coöperation as the dominant basis for social relationships within the group and among groups, both within the nation and among nations.

In the past two decades a new science of understanding and treating the inner conflicts and insecurities of human beings has developed. Herein lies another of the contradictions of our times. Even as we clarify our knowledge of the motivations of human behavior, the number of human beings suffering emotional maladjustments and mental illness is increasing by leaps and bounds. The often intolerable pressures of present-day life are taking their toll, not only in death, physical illness, and material privation, but also in frustrated and tortured minds and souls. The emotional lives of countless individuals have been warped and damaged by the strain of war and its accompanying privations and devastation. The family as the core of human society is crumbling under the weight of this age. Yet the need of human beings for the love and security which stem primarily from parental and brotherly relations of early childhood has not changed. A large proportion of our social work program is directed toward the rehabilitation of human beings and social institutions because this basic need is not being met. All social workers, whether working with people as individuals, in groups, or through community forces, must have an understanding of the psychological as well as

the sociological motivations of human behavior, if social welfare is to be furthered. Individual and social health are indivisible values.

These then, are some of the sober conditions of our world at this time when we are seeking to stake out the current frontiers of several group work objectives and practice. In 1935 there was for the first time, a group work section of the National Conference of Social Work. In that year representative social group workers in a number of communities were asked to establish study groups, to formulate the objectives of social group work as a means for finding the common core of concern motivating agencies and workers utilizing social group work methods. Their reports of these study groups were presented at a meeting of the group work section and later incorporated in a pamphlet published by the Association Press. From this pamphlet we learn that social group work was then in an exploratory rather than a definitive stage. Its objectives were examined in terms of those related to the development and adjustment of individuals through group association; those directed toward the development of group integration and achievement; and those concerned with the development of social attitudes and the effecting of social action. There seemed to be general agreement that social group work aims were premised on the interdependence of individual and social growth. The varying emphases in specific agency programs were recognized, and some progress was made in establishing common criteria which would distinguish the social group work process from any other form of group activity. There seemed to be a groping for some formula to guide this emerging method for helping people toward a fuller realization of their capacities.

What progress have we made in the intervening years in clarifying our objectives? The emphasis in most of the recent literature has stressed social group work as a method of meeting individual and social needs. Its aims and objectives are shared with other approaches and methods of social work. Its uniqueness lies in the understanding of the individual in his interaction with others in the group process. Social group work is a means rather than an end. This defining and refining of the methodological and technical elements are essential for teaching and practicing social group work. But do we not need again to ask ourselves why and what as well as how? No, social group work is not a credo, but like any other form of human endeavor it must be based on a credo. What are the elements in the credo or

philosophy which give direction and vitality to social group work as a method?

To me, the essence of this credo is the sanctity of the individual human being in an interdependent society. This faith is rooted in our American culture in its religious, social, economic, and political aspects. We call it democracy and we recognize that its full meaning is far from being realized. The objectives, therefore, of social group work are directed toward the fulfillment of this philosophy of human life and social relationships. Specifically, social group work is concerned with improving the relationships of people by providing and guiding associations and experiences in groups.

It would seem in looking back over the ten years which have elapsed since our first attempts to define the objectives of social group work that our frontiers have not fundamentally changed. We are still seeking to discover more effective ways of enriching the experiences of people through their association in groups and we are still seeking to improve the basic conditions of life within which individuals and groups have their being. Our changing frontiers lie more in the realm of how and where we practice social group work than in the ends we are seeking. The scope of social group work practice has been more clearly defined in recent years. The trend is, it seems to me, definitely in the direction of broadening our sphere of practice. Grace Coyle in 1941 defined social group work as a "type of educational process carried on in voluntary groups during leisure time and with the assistance of the group leader." Harleigh Trecker states in the current *Social Work Year Book* that,

group work, like case work and community organization, is a basic method in social work. . . . It is one way of giving service or help to individuals. To some degree social group work is utilized in all social work practice. Primarily, however, it is a specialized method of providing growth opportunities for individuals and groups in the functional settings of social work, recreation and education.¹

This represents an interpretation which extends the validity of the application of social group work knowledge and skills to a wide variety of individual and group situations. In my experience abroad, I felt the need of drawing upon social group work insights in helping people meet the basic problem of survival through group efforts

¹ Harleigh Trecker, "Social Group Work," in *Social Work Year Book 1947* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947), pp. 484-85.

as well as in helping them to satisfy specific interests of a social and cultural nature through group organization and activity. We must, however, define and delimit social group work as a conscious and purposive process in terms of the essential elements on which it rests. Social group work is not a science, but it must be based on a body of scientific knowledge as well as on a philosophy of life. This body of knowledge, derived mainly from the psychological and social sciences, is gradually being incorporated into the concepts and disciplines which guide social group work as a professional activity.

As in every other field of practice, we are developing our specializations. It seems to me that social group work practice is moving toward the development of two major emphases in the application of social group work insights and skills. It is difficult specifically to designate these two foci, but I shall use the terms "individualization" and "socialization." We must keep in mind that the essence of the social group work method involves the interdependence of these two concepts. Nevertheless, we must also recognize that in practice, that is, in the programs and services of individual agencies, there is a trend toward placing the emphasis on one of these, not to the exclusion of the other, but as holding priority. These areas of specialization may be identified, not only in the focus of agency services, but also in the body of knowledge and skill underlying the practice of professional social group workers.

There has been an impact on the social group work process of psychiatric concepts which have directed attention to the therapeutic values for the individual in group interaction. This does not mean that social group work has invaded the field of psychiatry. It does mean that the greater knowledge of human behavior which psychiatry affords may sharpen the insights and skills of social group workers in meeting needs of individuals. Some agencies serving group needs are finding that many individuals are unable to form satisfying relationships with others because of emotional or social maladjustments. Other agencies whose services are directed toward helping individuals are realizing that the needs of many can best be met through satisfying relationships with others in groups. We can find many concrete examples of how these needs are being served in the approach of specific agencies. Some social settlements located in socially and economically deteriorated areas have supplemented their staff of social group workers by employing caseworkers. Agencies dealing with needs

of children with emotional problems have developed group services. Group recreation programs have found a place both in military and in civilian hospitals. The group living situation afforded in children's institutions and summer camps is being recognized as a medium fraught with potential opportunities for furthering the growth and adjustment of the individual. These represent a few of the evidences of how social group work focuses on individual growth and adjustment through the medium of group experience.

I have designated the other area of specialization as "socialization." By this is meant that the social group work process is directed primarily toward achieving the social purposes of the group. These social purposes may represent a wide range of interests and needs. Recreation, informal education, social relationships, social and civic action are only a few of the social functions which groups may serve. The common interests and capacities of the group members represent the focus of the social group work process rather than the differing needs of individuals. To apply social group work methods in giving direction to groups having definite social purposes involves a philosophy regarding social values to be furthered. Our concern with the attitudes of people toward those of other races and cultures cannot be expressed without a commitment to the unequivocal belief in the equality and essential brotherhood of man. Our desire to train for citizenship in a democracy demands firm faith in the right of equal opportunity and the participation of all in determining the conditions of life under which we live. The social group worker is a carrier of social values, not only to the individuals in the groups he serves, but also in the wider sphere of his relationships and responsibilities. To be sure, the individual worker nearly always operates through the medium of the agency. This means that he too is a member of a group as well as a person with professional competence. Agencies emphasize various social objectives in their programs and services. Some focus on the infusion of ideas and values inhering in a particular religious, cultural, or community grouping. Others seek to inculcate the principles of democratic citizenship in all American youth. Still others are committed to achieving changes in the present patterns of social, economic, and political life which will better the lot of people. The great majority of agencies, private and public, utilizing social group work as a method of serving people are seeking, not only to provide for the expression of individual interests and

the meeting of individual needs, but also to further social objectives.

It is important to point out that these two major emphases are by no means mutually exclusive. There is a common core of knowledge and skill for practitioners as well as basic common concepts and objectives underlying agency functions and programs. There are, however, some differentials in the professional insights and skills involved and variations in the structure and methods of agencies which emphasize either individualization or socialization as the primary focus of their programs. There is a real need to clarify these common and differing elements in the professional literature and in the programs of professional schools training for social group work practice.

In determining current frontiers of social group work practice we must examine the actual developments of programs and methods in various organizational settings. The war period engendered many specialized needs and problems, and new community structures to meet them were initiated. Among these the United Services Organization, the American National Red Cross, and various governmental programs, military and civilian, probably made the most significant contributions. By no means all the services rendered by these agencies involved the use of social group work methods. However, social group work insights and skills were essential in planning and implementing many aspects of the programs set up to meet wartime needs. Social group workers had to find new ways of working with large numbers of people who were uprooted from their families and normal community associations. Groupings were temporary and shifting, and group activity was largely limited to a brief period of association. The experience of the war service agencies has given us new techniques in short-term social group work and expanded our understanding of working with many different forms of group association. We have broadened our concepts of how group leadership can be most effectively related to the needs and interests of various types of group.

Before the war, the vast majority of agencies using the social group work method served primarily children and youth. During the war, the application of social group work concepts to meet needs of people at all age levels became much more prevalent. Some of our newest frontiers in practice lie in the refining of our skills in giving direction to adult group life, not only in recreation, but also in relation to civic, economic, and social interests. The experience of groups of

citizens formed around civilian defense and other war services has activated many people to participate more fully in community life. In many communities social group work agencies are giving leadership in developing local groups for active participation in programs of community welfare. The area or neighborhood councils, as they are called in some cities, are examples of this form of group organization. These are concrete expressions of Mary Follett's concepts of the creative power of group activity in the building of a democratic society. People with training and experience in social group work methods have much to contribute in furthering this form of adult group activity.

We have become increasingly aware of the needs of the aged as a rapidly growing segment of our population. One of the newest forms of social group work programs is directed toward helping older people to find satisfying outlets for group association and activity. Leisure time for many people whose years of active work are over is a curse rather than a boon. The wish to be needed and a desire for social relationships and creative activity do not cease even when physical powers are waning. Group life can hold vast meaning for people in their declining years, not only for themselves, but for the health of the families and the communities of which they are a part.

I do not mean to underestimate our responsibilities toward children and youth. We have a tremendous task to interpret the needs of youth in this chaotic world in which they are at once the innocent victims and the hope of the future. Social group work cannot substitute for healthy family life or compensate for inadequate social and economic conditions, but it can enrich the experience of children and youth toward individual growth and social contribution. The concepts and principles of social group work as an educational process should not be limited to a few agencies. Perhaps the broadest frontier for social group work lies in its deeper penetration into the school as the universal institution for the education of youth. I believe that social group workers must widen their sphere of professional activity, especially in the public educational and recreational institutions. We can never accomplish the objectives we affirm by circumscribing social group work within the confines of particular types of community agency.

Social group work is beginning to emerge from a somewhat nebu-

lous concept as to its function into a more clearly defined area of professional activity. Evidence of this can be noted in the following trends:

1. The organization of a professional Association of Group Workers gives concrete expression to the common interests and concerns of workers engaged in social group work practice. This association, which developed from one which focused on the study of social group work as a method, has in its first year already exhibited remarkable vitality and is serving to unify and give expression to the professional interests of social group workers.

2. Professional education for social group work as an area of practice in social work, education, and recreation is offered in an increasing number of educational institutions, primarily in professional schools of social work but also in some other professionally oriented schools. Although the great majority of practicing social group workers have secured their preparation by other means through systematic professional training, the number of professionally trained workers is increasing, and many more are planning to enter professional schools in the future.

3. Agencies employing social group workers are stating in more definitive terms the qualifications they expect their workers to have. Most of the national agencies have formulated specific standards for professional workers in their local constituent agencies.

4. Several communities, through the central coördinating agency, have specified the educational and professional qualifications required for various categories of positions in agencies utilizing social group work skills.

5. Salaries, hours of work, employment procedures, and other personnel practices have been much more clearly defined by agencies and by organized groups of professional workers. There is still great need for raising the level of employment conditions for social group workers, and further progress in attracting and holding competent people will depend largely on the adoption of good standards in personnel practices.

6. The importance of adequate supervision in social group work is beginning to be recognized. As yet, however, few agencies have developed sound methods or adequate personnel for helping the worker in his professional growth through supervision. The supervision of volunteer and other nonprofessional group leaders has re-

ceived more attention than has the supervision of the professional staff worker.

7. The relative functions of professional social group workers and lay or volunteer workers are becoming more clearly defined. A large number of agencies will always rely largely on lay leadership. Their participation has validity in many types of group activity, and the professional competence of many social group workers must include the ability to develop able and resourceful lay leadership. Whether or not an agency has high standards rests, not on whether lay persons participate in giving leadership to groups, but on the quality of that service.

One characteristic often found in a profession still in its formative stage is the emergence of ideological differences. Social group work is by no means an exception, but as yet these differences have not established fundamental cleavages between groups. I want to voice a plea that we do all in our power to avoid such cleavages. Diversity in ideas and philosophy is desirable and essential for growth, but ideological sectarianism can only vitiate our strength as a profession and retard our efforts to further common objectives. There is need for many points of view in our quest to expand our understanding of group life and improve our methods in helping people to realize fuller lives through participation in groups, but we must not allow these varying concepts to prevent real coöperation among professional workers and agencies.

There are frontiers on which social group workers must move in the years ahead. These represent both needs which social group work may serve more fully, and settings in which social group work has only recently been recognized:

1. Many children and adults are living temporarily or permanently in group-living settings. We have only begun to recognize how group living can offer fuller opportunities for individual and social growth. Children's institutions at their best are regarded as poor substitutes for family life. Nevertheless, it is recognized that for many children group living may afford a real contribution to their adjustment and growth. We need to explore how through the social group work process these ends can be more fully realized in institutions for child care, for the physically, socially, and mentally handicapped, and even in settings in which group living is determined by some shared function or activity.

2. Programs for older people are still few and far between in most communities. We need to gain a much better understanding of the psychological and social needs of people in their declining years and we must learn how to develop and adapt programs and facilities for their use.

3. During the war we became acutely conscious of the failure of many community group programs to hold the interest of teen-age girls and boys. New types of program were initiated, such as the teen-canteen, but the fundamental problems of how adult leadership can function most acceptably and productively in meeting needs of adolescents are still far from being resolved. I believe that social group workers must examine in the light of their new understanding of human behavior and growth the role of adult leadership in working with adolescent groups.

4. We are confronted with the growing menace of racial and cultural intolerance and prejudice. Social group work is only one medium through which this malignant disease can be attacked. It can, however, be a powerful force if group leaders have convictions and skills in combatting misunderstanding and fear through the process of coöperative group relationships and activities.

5. Social group work methods have much to offer to the total field of social work. We have barely touched the application of social group work techniques and insights to the processes of administration, community organization, and social action. Harleigh Trecker's recent book, *The Group Process in Administration*,² has made a valuable contribution in analyzing the relevance of social group work principles to the group relationships involved in administration. Here too is a frontier where social group workers may sharpen their skills in giving direction to the groups on whom rests the responsibility for effectual community service and action.

There are many other frontiers on which social group work must operate, but I have tried to indicate some of the ways in which social group workers may help to achieve the objectives of social welfare and some of the ends we seek to further, both through altering the framework in which we operate and through extending our services to wider spheres of human need. We need vision in setting our sights and skill in moving ahead to attain them.

² Harleigh B. Trecker, *Group Process in Administration* (New York: Women's Press, 1946).

PLANNING RECREATIONAL SERVICES FOR A COMMUNITY

By Roy Sorenson

THE FIRST CARDINAL PRINCIPLE in planning recreational services for a community is that there must be principles. This sounds trite, but actually there are no generally accepted principles widely accepted and tested.

There can be no sound planning without some frame of reference concerning the appropriate functions and responsibilities which the various public agencies, school boards, park boards, recreation commissions, and the various voluntary agencies should carry on in relation to each other. Clearer definition is required if genuine planning is to be achieved. If we are to plan recreational services for all, it will not come about merely by persuading anybody who can be stimulated to develop facilities and program—park board, school board, recreation commission, or voluntary agencies—but by getting each to carry what is most appropriately his responsibility.

For example, where is the soundest place to locate responsibility for swimming pools that are to be used for instruction and for recreational swimming? In the school board, so that the pools may be part of school plants, for use during school hours and for community use in the afternoons, evenings, and vacations? Or in the city recreation commission, so that the pools may be built in selected parts of the city? In voluntary agencies? Or should the responsibility be shared by all three?

Where should responsibility be fixed for acquiring, improving, and maintaining recreational land and facilities? Upon schools, parks, and recreation commissions? Or upon schools and parks, with city recreation commissions providing leadership?

How should the various types of facility and program be distributed?

These few questions illustrate the necessity for directional principles, for clearly laid and established tracks upon which the various types of responsibility should move.

On the East Side of New York there is a cross-town streetcar line running on Houston Street. A new operator was employed on the Houston Street line, and after three or four days the receipts increased perceptibly. The supervisor called the young man in and said, "We're very gratified to see how business on the Houston Street line has increased, but we are curious to know how it was done." The new operator said, "Well, I ran the car up and down Houston Street for several days and noticed that there were not many people riding, so I took the car over on Broadway and I did better over there."

A streetcar system cannot be run that way, yet that is the way we have been developing our community recreational programs. People believe they are doing the right thing when they "meet need," even if it is not on their run. Agencies shift their function if they can get more patronage that way. Every agency operator, public and voluntary, decides for himself what run he will make, with no reference to any over-all schedule.

So the first principle is that we must have some principles, some schedule, some agreed-upon allocation of functions and responsibilities.

The first attempt to formulate such a set of functional guiding principles as a framework for community organizational planning for recreation was in the Los Angeles survey a little more than a year ago. The results of that survey have been published under the title of *Recreation for Everybody*.¹ I do not propose to cite the principles here. However, they need criticism, reformulation, testing. Other formulations are needed in other communities.

The general framework of formulating the four types of administrative responsibility or function in terms of the basic satisfactions people want from their leisure seems to me sound. The purpose of recreation should be to meet people's needs. Therefore, functions analyzed in terms of needs would seem to be fundamental:

1. People want places where they can go and be out of doors, equipment which they can use for their own unorganized and unsupervised enjoyment. Parks, beaches, golf courses, picnic areas, tennis courts, conservatories, zoos, libraries, museums, and art galleries are so provided. It is generally agreed that this function is the responsibility of government, to be financed through tax funds and

¹ Roy Sorenson and associates, *Recreation for Everybody* (Los Angeles: Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles, 1946).

bond issues, with some private gifts from individuals. Park boards and library boards carry this function as their primary one.

2. People want opportunities to engage in a wide variety of activities which by their very nature must be organized. Someone must supply special equipment. These activities include team athletics, music, drama, crafts, social programs, and adult education.

The bulk of these activities have come generally to be accepted as public responsibility. Voluntary agencies carry them on as the activities of organized groups, or for the purpose of recruiting and organizing member groups. Here, however, is where there is still lack of clarity of definition as to responsibility between park board, school board, and recreation commission. It is not enough to say that these general activities have been carried on successfully by every one of these authorities and by every combination of them in some place in the United States, so therefore take your choice. There will be greater economy and breadth of coverage by the right way.

I have never been satisfied that the school has fulfilled its function to provide for the leisure time of its students by merely turning its facilities over to a recreation commission after school hours. The schools are the largest youth-serving agency in the community. Elementary schools are better distributed over an entire community than are any other type of facility. It is to the interest of the public, the taxpayers, not only to utilize these well-distributed facilities outside school hours, but to secure the community contribution which the schools can make to the educational-recreational life of youth. If life experience is to be utilized in school education and if one of the seven cardinal principles of education, "worthy use of leisure," is to be achieved in education, I cannot see the soundness of a policy by which the school delegates to another authority the after-school leisure-time program for its own students. Neighborhood play for elementary school children would seem to be the appropriate responsibility of the school, and part of the recreation tax dollar should be administered there. The recreation commission would seem to have a major job in serving older youth in district play fields and out of school youth and adults.

The park commission would seem to have enough to do to provide unorganized recreation and to make part of its facilities available to recreation commissions for organized programs. The functions of un-

organized and organized recreation appear to be so different that one or the other is apt to suffer when they are included in the same authority.

These divisions of responsibility within the broad function of public organized recreation are by no means clear. There are many arguments against the generalities I have briefly stated. But sound planning calls for clarification of responsibility among these various public bodies, and we must achieve it in the future.

3. People, particularly children and young people, want the satisfaction which comes not so much from an activity itself as from the opportunity of close group association with those of their own age and kind. This is one of the ways in which young people acquire social purposes and habits, learn to accept responsibility and to exercise leadership. The activities in which they engage are thus incidental to their need for group association.

Both public and voluntary agencies provide organization and supervision of groups, clubs, and classes. Public agencies, however, carry such large responsibility for the two functions previously mentioned that the concentration upon small group programs is bound, at this stage of development and support, to be secondary and limited. The member groups of the Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, Girl Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. Jewish centers, settlements, and boys' clubs belong essentially to this third function. These voluntary agencies dilute their effectiveness in providing the essentials of good group association when they also try to carry on the general activities programs (primarily a public function) with individuals not in continuing member groups.

4. Finally, for certain children and young people who are not too well adjusted, association with others in small groups can be so directed as to serve a more precise and positive social purpose. Through these groups, recreation can play a more definite role in delinquency prevention. However, organization of these groups calls for the highest quality of skilled leadership. A premium must be put upon individualization within the group. Close coöperation with other agencies which have at their disposal caseworkers, visiting teachers, psychiatrists, probation officers, and the like is essential. It is through the skillful conduct of such groups that recreation can achieve the true purpose of "social treatment."

At present this must be primarily the responsibility of voluntary

agencies, although little of the individualized function has as yet been developed. Again, voluntary agencies are not likely to enlarge this function while they still carry remnants of the public recreational function described above.

While these four categories provide one kind of framework for arriving at principles for planning recreational services for a community, still another set of principles is needed for determining facility responsibility. Following are several suggested principles for the purpose of stimulating consideration leading to a more general consensus of opinion:

1. It should be the school board's responsibility to provide as part of modern school facilities, in every newly built school, a playground with a minimum of five acres to accommodate gymnasium, swimming pool, auditorium, and workshops. These facilities should be so located as to provide direct exits, drinking fountain, and toilets, so that they can be used after school hours with a minimum of disturbance to the rest of the school plant.

2. Park boards should acquire, improve, and maintain park areas for unorganized recreation and make some of their areas and facilities available for agencies which conduct organized recreation.

3. Recreation commissions should make maximum use of park and school facilities and acquire, improve, and maintain as few of their own as possible. The larger the proportion of recreation commission budget which can go into leadership the better, and the smaller the proportion which must go into acquiring, improving, or maintaining facilities the better.

4. Voluntary agencies should design their facilities to suit their member group function. Certainly, community facilities in various sections of a city ought not to have to provide swimming pools if this is a public function.

There is no useful purpose to be served by reasoning that because the schools in your town are on small sites or have not provided gymnasia and natatoria that the principle is wrong. Or that because the recreation commission has acquired and maintains large facilities and areas that the principle is wrong. Or because you have built a swimming pool in a Y.M.C.A. community branch, a boys' club, or a community center that the principle cannot be right. Principles are to guide future planning and to avoid repeating mistakes of the past, not to be accepted or rejected on the basis of past practice.

A further possibility of developing principles is in terms of distribution of services:

1. There should be a minimum standard of recreational facilities and program across the whole community. Opportunity for recreation is an essential for all, regardless of neighborhood, social problem, race, age, or sex.

2. Sections of the community which have special problems, such as changing populations, low economic level, interracial tensions, and crowding or poor housing, require an intensification of services above the minimum for all areas. All four recreational functions should be provided on a high level in these special problem areas, and in addition there needs to be special emphasis on the last two functions mentioned earlier because there is more unadjustment.

The study made in Los Angeles showed that it took almost twice as much staff time to secure an equal number of group participants in the neediest areas than in the least needy areas. The youngsters are more readily organizable, there is more leadership available, meeting places are more adequate, and parents are more coöperative and helpful in the least needy areas.

3. There ought to be as much opportunity for girls as for boys. Most studies show a much larger percentage of boy participants than girls.

4. Racial and national minorities ought to be given opportunities at least in proportion to their ratio to the population, and higher because of greater need.

5. A greater participation of older adolescents and young adults should be achieved. All studies show a disproportionate participation of nine- to fourteen-year-olds.

These various sets of principles are advanced as starting points. Because the Los Angeles survey and this reaffirmation of proposed principles pioneer in community organization formulation, it is not possible to present matured or dogmatic principles of community organization for recreation. But principles we must have if our community planning for recreation is to be orderly and make sense as a whole.

Which of these principles are sound? Which unsound? The matured principles will be forged out of hard thinking in our own communities, creative thinking, transcending the particular arrangements which happen to obtain at the present time.

MAJOR ISSUES IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

By Sue Spencer

IN ORDER THAT WE MAY CONSIDER THE ISSUES¹ in professional education against a background of common knowledge, perhaps we should review certain facts² about our method of preparing people for the field, the resources being used, and the students enrolled currently and those who have been graduated.

There are at present forty-nine graduate schools of social work holding membership in the American Association of Schools of Social Work. All except six offer a two-year graduate program. All are integral parts of an accredited college or university, and approximately half are in tax-supported institutions. There are 325 full-time faculty members, including deans and directors of schools. Enrolled in these schools on November 1, 1946, were 3,695 full-time graduate students, 2,500 part-time graduate students, and 1,500 undergraduate students in preprofessional social work programs offered in connection with the graduate programs.

The program of graduate education includes both classroom and field instruction in both years, with all students required to have some work in eight basic areas: casework, social group work, community organization, public welfare, psychiatric information, medical information, research and statistics, and administration. A research project is generally required of second year students. Although much emphasis is placed on providing the student with basic knowledge in each of the eight areas, there are also a number of specializations. Among these are: medical social work, psychiatric social work, family casework, child welfare, social group work, community organization, administration, and research.

The programs of the various schools are constantly being modified

¹ Opinions given in this article are those of the writer and do not necessarily represent the point of view of the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

² Unless otherwise noted, the figures given are for schools which are members of the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

by experimentation with new patterns of integration of theory and practice and the introduction of new subject matter. The general pattern is the provision of a professional curriculum at the graduate level, based on a well-rounded undergraduate education, including specialization in the social sciences.

We are graduating from the two-year program only about a thousand persons per year, and in all the past years have graduated less than fifteen thousand from the two-year programs. The degree received is the master's degree. The number of persons who have received the doctor's degree through the schools of social work is well under one hundred, with the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, which has granted by far the largest number, listing a total of thirty for the years up to 1942.

The number of part-time students is still equal to two-thirds the number enrolled for full-time work, and a large proportion of students currently enrolled for full-time study will stay for only nine months, some only six months. Thus we have a plan of professional education which is designed to prepare people by a two-year, well-integrated program of study, yet many students fail to receive full value for their educational investment because of its fragmentary character. Further, our educational resources are not used to the fullest advantage because, paradoxically enough, many of the schools, due to pressure for short-time training, have admitted students several times a year and have been forced to repeat the first year courses each term.

It is well to keep in mind that social work education, in a peculiar sense, is a joint enterprise, engaging the school, the social agency, and the student. It is, to a great extent, dependent upon the availability of agency programs of high quality and the supervisory skill and time of agency staff members.

Social work education is expensive. The dynamics of education for a profession in which much of professional practice rests upon the worker's use of himself in a helpful relationship to others requires ample opportunity for class discussion, analysis of case materials, and the use of group projects. This necessitates small class groups and a relatively high degree of individualized teaching. Our individual tutorial system of field work also increases the cost. This is true not only of those schools in which the university employs faculty instructors for field work supervision. In all schools the work of assist-

ing the agencies to provide a high quality of learning for the student in field work involves a good deal of faculty time.

Social work education is expensive from the standpoint of the agency offering its resources for field work. The major emphasis in the work carried by students is the actual learning which he may achieve through field work, rather than the amount of the agency's program which he can carry. Therefore, the supervisory time for students, as compared with the supervisory time for workers, is much less productive in terms of agency work accomplished.

Social work education is also costly from the student's point of view, with fees for the two-year program ranging from \$150 for residents in tax-supported institutions to \$750 or more in a few of the privately supported institutions. Yet the schools of social work are in no instance of which I know actually able to meet operating costs from student fees. Thus the college or university must subsidize the school of social work and, in addition, funds must often be secured from other sources if the program is to operate on a sound basis.

Within the past ten years a new association of schools has been established in the social work field, the National Association of Schools of Social Administration. The motivating force in the establishment of the educational programs identified with this association is the great pressure on the colleges and universities, especially the tax-supported institutions, to use their resources in preparing people for employment in the public social services. The educational program recommended by the Association includes a junior professional program in the junior and senior undergraduate years which is two-thirds social science and one-third social work, including limited field practice. This is followed in a few of the N.A.S.S.A. schools by a graduate year with two-thirds social work and one-third social science, leading to a master's degree at the end of one year. About thirty colleges and universities hold membership in this association, and its growth is indicative of the strong impulse on the part of universities to provide junior professional preparation for social work.

Real effort is being made to resolve the differences in viewpoint of the two associations of schools and to unite the efforts of both associations in promoting the best in training for the profession.

Social work education reflects—and properly so—the youth of the

profession: its sudden enthusiasms, its relatively uncrystallized practice in certain areas, and its unsureness of itself. Youth is a great asset, but maturity is undoubtedly more comfortable. We sometimes long for the time when the profession will be more "settled" in its knowledge of its responsibilities and when we in education will know with assurance what it is for which we are preparing people.

Several of the issues in professional education arise from the fact that, within the profession itself, there is not general agreement on certain matters. First of all, we have no generally accepted definition of the field of social work or of what constitutes the basic knowledge and skill necessary to competent practice.

During 1945 and 1946 the American Association of Social Workers attempted, as a part of its preparation for seeking the establishment of an effective system of regulation of practice, to determine what a social worker should know and be able to do if he is to be registered or licensed as a social worker. The definition material proposed by a national A.A.S.W. committee was discussed by representative groups of social workers in several sections of the country. It was obvious that certain persons in each group held widely differing viewpoints. In New Orleans the definition was criticized as taking social work back to the "uplift era" of the early charity organization society days. There was also marked disagreement as to the social worker's responsibility for precipitating change in agency programs, as contrasted with the responsibility for performing to the best possible degree of service within the framework of agency policy. There are still people who would classify the functions carried by the worker in public assistance as either not social work, or as social work only in part. In New York the question was raised as to whether or not a person is practicing social work if he is employed by a business firm; some members of the group felt strongly that the use of agency function in treatment is an essential of social work practice.

At the risk of being criticized for oversimplification, I should like to suggest two differing emphases which appear in the thinking of social workers. There is first the view that the heart of social work practice is the direct worker-to-client or leader-to-group service and that social work education should prepare people adequately for practice as caseworkers or social group workers. The contrasting point of view is that the essence of social work is the recognition of a social need and the creation and rendering of a service to meet that need.

In accordance with this second point of view, social work education should be concerned primarily with preparing people to recognize needs and to develop or modify existing programs of service to meet these needs—programs within which the individual and his needs are the primary focus.

These two points of view are not mutually exclusive, by any means, but there is a real difference in emphasis. Until the profession is more united in its decision as to what constitutes the professional practice for which education is to prepare people, the school's product will continue to fail to satisfy the field fully. With an educational program of only two years duration it is not possible to prepare skilled practitioners in casework or social group work who are also sufficiently and thoroughly grounded in all social problems and professional techniques required to give leadership in developing and operating our social services.

The increasing demand for workers with community organization skill has raised anew the question of what constitutes the best preparation for such practice. Again, although the leaders in that field have made progress in determining what preparation is essential, social work in general is not fully aware of these recommendations nor necessarily in agreement with them.

Much must be done certainly to stimulate discussion and progress toward basic definitions of the objectives and methodology of our profession if we are to build a sound educational system. Related to this problem is the question of whether or not certain social work operations can be or should be separated from professional practice generally and carried by persons with only a junior professional preparation.

Many people have advanced the opinion that in social work much can be done satisfactorily by persons who do not have professional preparation but who have an identification with the profession, a social point of view, including respect for the rights and abilities of all people, and the ability to use community resources. The proponents of this theory believe that the beginning positions in public assistance and in the social group work field, particularly in public recreation, can be adequately manned by persons with only undergraduate preparation, if real effort is made in such instances to limit the responsibilities and to provide a strong agency staff development program, including adequate supervision on the job.

This is a question of critical importance. If we answer it in one way, we will tend to define professional practice quite narrowly, limiting it to the top jobs or to those requiring a high degree of skill. We will then be accepting as satisfactory for a large proportion of our social work programs, the limited service rendered by persons without full professional education. A valid decision can be reached only as the result of thorough research concerning the opportunities for professional service inherent in such activities, and the minimum knowledge and skill necessary for adequate performance. Many leaders believe that only when we have fully trained social workers in the beginning positions in the public services, as well as in the privately supported agencies, will we begin to see the vast social changes which are inherent in our social planning and expenditures. Meanwhile, as we are forced to use persons equipped with less than the two-year graduate professional preparation, it is important that we use to the best advantage those persons who do have professional preparation and that we not lose sight of the objective of an adequate supply of professionally prepared workers.

We have said, as a profession, that two years of full-time graduate study are necessary for adequate performance as a social worker. Nevertheless, we send people who have had no previous professional training on educational leave lasting only six or nine months. We offer scholarships covering only the first year of training and we usually fail to plan with the student for completion of his training. Yet we expect the six or nine months of education to give him the complete range of professional knowledge and enough skill in practice so that he can not only carry a full case load or group load, but very soon begin to supervise others.

Social work should ask itself seriously: How much of a threat to public safety and welfare is the partially trained worker? In medical practice only a physician who has completed his training and passed the licensing examination is allowed to practice independently. Social work, which is perhaps the most complicated of the professions, must accept responsibility for giving more than lip service to the necessity for full preparation for practice.

One of the major issues in social work education is the quantitative problem of manning the field. If we are to have fully prepared social workers for all the services, we must find ways of turning out more graduates. The 1,000 students graduated each year hardly keep pace

with the increased personnel needs in one or two of the larger public agencies. The prospective demand for thousands of psychiatric social workers under the National Mental Health Act is typical of what may lie immediately ahead. It is estimated that there are now between 100,000 and 175,000 social work positions in this country and that probably 40,000 persons have had as much as one year in a graduate school of social work. Of this number about one third have completed the two-year program and received the degree or diploma. Probably this number should be reduced by one fourth to allow for persons who have been trained as social workers but are not currently so employed. This means that about 30,000 persons with a year or more of professional training are trying to provide leadership and service in a field in which they are outnumbered four to one by persons who have had no systematic professional education in a school of social work.

This great gap between supply and demand is a major threat to our whole profession. Unless we can find ways of lessening this gap substantially there is real danger that the public recognition of the value of professional competence will be lost, that there will be a marked decrease in the number of positions for which professional training requirements are set, and that a system of pseudoprofessional education will be adopted to placate public conscience.

We must immediately bend our efforts, therefore, to aggressive action in the following directions:

1. Increasing the resources for professional education through:
(a) Expansion of existing schools; (b) Provision of additional field work resources; (c) Finding additional faculty and field work supervisors; and (d) Development of new schools of social work

2. Experimenting with other and possibly better and more economical methods of training, such as: (a) Better use of the undergraduate year; (b) Development of internship plans to substitute for some parts of concurrent field work; and (c) Further efforts at teaching generically rather than in highly specialized sequences requiring a duplication of teacher effort

3. Provision of more generous policies for educational leave and stipends for study, and the raising of additional subsidies for training

4. Experimentation to see what speeding up is feasible in the education of students with previous experience in social work

Perhaps most of us would agree as to the desirability of experimenting or of actually implementing some of these suggestions. However, there is not full agreement as to just how such suggestions can be safely and properly put into effect. Let us take, for example, the expansion of existing schools. Who is to say which should expand, and in what direction? We lack adequate information on which to base predictions of the number, location, and kinds of personnel need in the immediate future. Also, without such a pool of information and the sharing of planning between schools, what constitutes expansion by one school may force contraction of another school's program due to lack of teaching personnel and field work resources.

Although the standards set for professional education by the American Association of Schools of Social Work and supported by the profession are not excessive in light of the requirements of professional practice, they constitute a barrier to the development of new programs in many universities. If the best interests of the profession are to be served, which universities should be encouraged to establish schools? And what is the rate of expansion at which the profession can and will support new schools? We shall have to wait for adequate answers to this question until we have made a full study of the educational needs of the field. Meanwhile, all would agree that the stronger institutions, strategically located with reference to the best educational resources, should be encouraged to start schools, and the less strong institutions remote from centers of agency practice of high quality should probably not be encouraged. Certainly, there should be centralization of the information concerning supply and demand in a geographical area, and this information should be available to educators as well as social workers.

Actually, on each of these recommendations there would be conflict between those who fear nothing so much as a lowering of standards and those who believe that the present standard, because of our inability to train sufficient people for the field, is irrevocably lowered by its very maintenance. Fearless research should develop new ways of making professional education more generally available. Further, wholehearted agreement that the resources for social work education must be expanded, and our sacrificial efforts in that direction, should produce results.

An issue of major importance is the conflict between the trend toward the more generic teaching of social work theory and the trend

toward the addition of new specializations within the two-year professional program. Because much of social work practice consists of acting as an integral part of a service offered by another profession, there is the necessity of offering the student in the specialty sufficient knowledge of the other profession and ways of integrating his practice with that of the other profession so that he can function effectively. Thus we have seen the growth of medical social work, psychiatric social work, school social work, social work in courts, and a number of others. Practice of social work in close juxtaposition with associated professions, as medical social work is to medicine and nursing, has often forced early and real clarification of the role of the social worker and of the knowledge and skill necessary for such practice. The American Association of Medical Social Workers has developed a clearly defined sequence of course content and a well-defined area of field practice which the Association believes should be provided in schools undertaking to prepare medical social workers. The same kind of clarification has been done by the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers and is in process by the American Association of Group Workers and the National Association of School Social Workers. There is no doubt that the demands of professional practice in each of these specializations provide a legitimate claim to the provision of strong curricula especially directed toward preparation for specialized practice.

In addition to these specializations there are concentrations of subject matter leading to specialized practice in agency settings which are essentially social work agencies. These are seen in family casework, child welfare, social group work, public welfare administration, community organization, social research, and social administration. In each of these areas the demands of the field have already forced the development of considerable specialization. To the extent that graduates of our present two-year professional curriculum move almost immediately into positions of leadership or into those in which a high degree of technical skill is required, rather than into beginning positions, great pressures are being put upon the schools to provide the utmost in skill in a given area of practice. At the same time, the tendency on the part of professional social workers to move out of one specialty into another, and the demand upon the profession for expanding into new areas of service, requires that students have a thorough basic preparation covering the major areas of professional

practice so that they participate effectively in social work regardless of where they find themselves.

The conflict, therefore, is between the increasing demand within a specialized area for more advanced knowledge and skill, and the counter requirement that social workers be thoroughly equipped for the range of major areas of practice. When this conflict is considered in connection with the very slender resources in faculty and field work, and the limits imposed by the two-year program, it is obvious that the solution is not easy. The specializations are, therefore, being studied to see what can be taught generically without loss to the specialized student and with the actual strengthening of the entire program. For example, much of what has been taught in medical social work concerning public health may now be found to be necessary for the basic preparation of social workers. In such instances there would be better use of educational resources, as well as an enrichment of the learning of all students.

There is a very real question as to whether it is possible for the student to achieve a generic base of preparation as well as real skill in the specialized practice within the two-year program. We may well come to the conclusion that our two-year program is too short to provide the high degree of technical skill which current practice is coming to demand in certain areas. Meanwhile, we are unhappily attempting to provide both a strong generic base of a fair degree of skill in a specialization within the curriculum. Much of what we have achieved in the way of recognition of the profession has come through the specialized services. We would do well to conserve these values but to continue our efforts to modify and strengthen the basic curriculum.

Of considerable interest is the question of how much research should be required of all social work students. Due, in part, to the early identification of many of the schools with the graduate programs in liberal arts and sciences, as well as to our belief in research as a part of professional competence, social work students generally have been required to complete an independent research project. The writing of the thesis followed one or more courses in social statistics and methods of research and was often coupled with the requirement that the student defend his thesis before a faculty committee. Undoubtedly, much valid research has been done by social work students and has resulted, not only in equipping some of them with technical

research skill, but in the development of new knowledge, particularly in regard to social work practices and agency programs in the region in which the school was located. Such results are highly desirable. The fact remains, however, that for many students research of a high quality is difficult. The inability of students to complete the thesis has resulted in their being deprived of the master's degree and often of any other mark of professional education. The abortive efforts (as well as the successful efforts) of students in writing the thesis entail a great drain upon faculty time, and it has seemed to some of the schools that this time might better be devoted to something else.

Several schools are experimenting with a modification of the research requirement. In one such plan the students are enrolled in a research seminar in which all students select the same problem for study. Each student studies the problem according to accepted research and statistical methods, and the individual studies are then presented for group discussion. Other schools are selecting problem areas, breaking each into parts suitable for the limited study which is considered a legitimate undertaking for a candidate for the master's degree, and then encouraging each student to select one of these sub-problems for his thesis. Under this plan it is hoped that students will be more able to complete the requirement and that, meanwhile, a substantial achievement can be found in the total solution of all the sub-problems leading to coverage of a problem of real significance.

Other schools feel strongly that social work will never gain proper public recognition until all students are taught to be "research-minded" and until we turn out a reasonable number of "scholarly" persons—persons who, year after year, make real contributions to our professional knowledge. They believe that the discipline of developing a research project is an effective way of providing the social work student with the spirit and technical knowledge of research.

The conflict concerning the research requirement is again illustrative of our lack of clarity as to the demands of professional practice and our attempt to make social work education meet the needs of a profession which is constantly changing.

There are a number of problems whose solution will have a major effect upon professional education and cannot be side-stepped if the profession is to develop soundly.

The first of these is the problem of recruiting. Although almost all the schools are at capacity enrollment, it is important that the ob-

jectives and needs of the profession be kept constantly before the public and that the right kind of people be brought into the profession. We must find answers to such questions as these: Who should be recruited for the profession? How can people—the right people—be induced to enter the profession? How can we be sure that people really know whether or not they can find in the profession the kind of opportunity for which they are fitted?

The second problem is the matter of selection. What criteria should be used for the selection of students for the professional schools? What are useful methods of measuring aptitude for the profession? What tests of educational achievement will prove valuable as a basis for prediction of successful professional performance?

Another major problem is that of providing for an adequate supply of personnel, properly distributed where their skills are most needed.

Finally, there is the problem of proper recompense for service. How can salaries, personnel practices, and retirement plans be raised to, or maintained at, a level which will keep social workers from leaving the profession and enable them to work at a high level of production?

Obviously, the major responsibility for solving these problems rests with the social work profession and with higher education, though I, for one, believe that it is also shared with the general public. Satisfactory solutions rest upon increased understanding and the agreement of all of us on what is involved in professional competence and on how education can be used effectively in preparation for the profession. Also required is acceptance on the part of all of us—the profession, higher education, and the general public—of our own distinct responsibility for the development of the profession and of education for social work.

Acceptance of our responsibility as social workers is reflected in our simple everyday choices. These choices are evident in our conduct and performance as professional workers; our casual as well as our studied interpretation of professional problems; our identification with the great social movements of our time; and the breadth and variety of the groups with which we associate. These choices are reflected in the strength and skill with which we support good personnel policies and educational leave plans, and the ways in which we provide for staff development for all staff members. And for all of us there must be the strong conviction of the worth of professional

education and a confidence in the leadership within professional education.

The recently organized National Council on Social Work Education will provide the machinery for joint effort on the part of social work, higher education, and the general public in supporting and strengthening social work education. The proposed comprehensive study of social work education should provide or suggest answers to fundamental issues facing the profession. By involving large numbers of persons in the study, through individual and group consultation, it is also anticipated that many of the study's recommendations will find their way into general and speedy acceptance and effective use.

We should not, however, allow ourselves to be lulled into complacency with this glow of anticipation. The pressures on the schools are enormous. We are not thoroughly united, either in our objectives or in our beliefs, as to how these objectives can be attained. The resources, in time and money and personnel, for social work education are exceedingly slender. Unless we are willing to do the utmost, social workers will not be prepared in the numbers or at the level at which they are needed.

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION IN THE AGENCY SETTING

By Evangeline Sheibley

ANY CONSIDERATION OF THE WHOLE AREA of staff development must start where the school has left the student at the completion of his training. Is the graduate fully equipped to take on the variety of problems brought to the agency and to deal with them effectively? Or must the agency be selective in the choice of experiences given the beginning worker?

We find that although the schools have moved toward standardization of over-all content in agreement on the "basic eight" in curriculum, there still remain, and no doubt should, in order to allow for healthful diversity, many differences in approach and plan based on the philosophy of what training should provide. For example, a few schools require extended and continuous field work placement in one agency in an attempt to develop a beginning skill in casework. The assumption is that only through experience in one setting over a considerable length of time can the student develop an adequate depth of competence in diagnosis and treatment. Other schools place students for shorter periods in a number of agencies in order that, through observation and work in a variety of settings, they may gain breadth of experience and may grasp the generic nature of the casework job.

We find, too, that the quality and content of the academic courses vary among schools of social work. Those of us who have participated in the field work training of students from several schools concurrently have been acutely aware of the differences in emphasis in such areas as psychiatric concepts, public assistance, and community organization as they relate to the social work process. However, the understanding of human behavior as that behavior is expressed within the family and the group is the basic aim of all schools and is the common denominator of the various fields of social service.

Lastly, of course, we need to look at the degree of integration which the individual student has been able to make of the training

experience. To what extent has the student-supervisory relationship made for a real integration of knowledge resulting in personal growth and translated into skill? What are the methods by which the agency can continue to aid the beginning worker in his development, to the end that he may give effective service to the community? These are the questions that an agency needs to ask in determining where the emphasis in the continuing education of the worker should be placed.

We need now to evaluate where the agency is in its development and whether it provides an environment which is conducive to professional growth. The function, size, structure, stage of development of the agency and of the community, the quality of the agency's staff, their relationships to one another, all play important parts in determining the kind and quality of staff development program.

Although most agencies use beginning workers for some portion of their programs, there are agencies whose specialized functions require greater maturity and depth of skill. On the other hand, the programs of some agencies may be largely carried out by beginning workers. Thus we see that the function of the agency determines both the floor and the ceiling of staff experience levels required to carry out the agency's purpose.

The size of the agency is also a factor in staff development. In the middle-sized or large, undistricted agency, more selection in assignment, carefully suited to the worker's experience, is afforded. In the middle-sized or small agency, on the other hand, the worker may be able to participate in publicity or talks to community groups, which in larger agencies are the responsibility of specialists or experienced personnel. The very small agency, because of the limitation in number of staff members, is not always able to offer the beginning worker the protections it would deem desirable. Here also, opportunities for broader experience in community projects, administrative responsibilities, or supervision may not always be available at the time the worker is ready for them. This may be true in larger agencies too, but to a lesser degree.

The structure of an agency is another conditioning factor in the environment created by the agency. By "structure" we mean the framework within which the worker operates. This would include philosophy, purpose, function, policies, and procedures. It is essential that all of these be clearly defined and consistently carried out,

that the channels through which change is effected be known, and that the agency's place in relation to other agencies in the community be well understood. We all know organizations where the policies seem to fluctuate daily, where they are not understood or known by the staff or the community, where in order to get an authoritative opinion on even a run-of-the-mine situation, it is necessary to talk to the executive or to refer to precedents in the agency's experience in order to support a desired decision. Certainly each new situation should not call for executive or supervisory consultation.

It is also essential that the relationships between the component parts of the agency—executive, supervisors, workers, and clients—be clear and sound. The functions of the executive and of the supervisor should be clearly defined since these are areas in which each frequently oversteps the bounds of the other. For example, a family agency caseworker in a community where there was no child placing facility was working with an eight-year-old child whose severe behavior was in direct response to an unalterable home situation. Foster home placement seemed to be the only solution. Since child placement was not a function of the agency, the worker consulted the supervisor, who gave permission to arrange the placement. Through friends of the family an adequate foster home was found. When the case came informally to the attention of the executive, he questioned the agency's right to engage in child placement without legal responsibility, with the result that just as the worker had gained his psychotic client's approval of the plan, permission to make the placement was held in abeyance. In this situation the supervisor was at fault in stepping into the administrative area, and the executive was right in questioning the kind of responsibility the agency was assuming. Similarly, a supervisor needs to be careful when unexpected needs of a client arise when the worker is not available. It is important that the supervisor handle the situation in such a way that he does not interfere with the worker's process. The temptation to do so is particularly great when the supervisor is dissatisfied with the progress of a case. Likewise, the executive needs to be attuned to the relation between individual workers and their supervisors, so that he does not inject himself into the supervisor's role.

In considering the structure of a social group work agency, the worker would wish to know whether the agency's emphasis is on professional or volunteer leadership; whether it stresses alliance with

the field of education or with the field of social work, or whether it tries to integrate both disciplines. He would wish to know whether its in-service training tends to deal with the improvement of activity skills, of better administrative procedures, of socio-economic factors; or whether, in addition, the conscious emphasis is on the understanding of human behavior, how psychological factors influence group behavior, and how group programs can meet individual needs.

Policies should also be included in evaluating the agency's structure. Their influence on morale, on the general effectiveness of the staff member and his freedom to develop, are well known. If practices regarding salary, vacation, promotion, conference attendance, illness allowance, and the like are vague or inconsistently applied, resentment and general uneasiness spread throughout the staff. Such an atmosphere is hardly a good one in which to learn. In public agencies, especially those operating under civil service regulations, the conditions of employment are usually available in printed form and may be readily known by every employee or prospective employee. Among private agencies this practice is not so consistently followed, but fortunately the more progressive agencies are adopting it.

Structure alone does not assure good service. We would all agree, however, that within a sound structure the *sine qua non* of any organization is an able, flexible, imaginative, growing staff. Ability to grow is particularly important. An agency which has achieved good standards cannot afford to rest on its laurels. Smug complacency is the first step to regression and stagnation. A staff with brilliant gifts, if unable to work together smoothly, impede rather than help one another's progress. The freedom of the staff to realize its capacities is primarily dependent on the leadership of the executive and/or supervisor responsible for the agency's program. Equally important are the development and maintenance within the board of understanding and conviction about the agency's program and quality of service.

Thus we are saying that the milieu in which the worker finds himself is a major factor in his ability to develop and mature. It is, indeed, the solid base and foundation upon which other developmental opportunities may be added to insure continuing growth.

Having considered the setting into which the professional graduate comes, we can look at the educational and developmental processes which take place therein. The concept of continuance of profes-

sional education in the first year out of graduate school is one which has been given considerable thought and study by agencies and national organizations. The Committee on Professional Education of the Family Service Association of America some years ago defined the needs of the worker at this stage and described a conscious plan for methods of meeting those needs, as an "externship" period. More recently, the Family Service Association of America Personnel Committee, in setting up job classifications, recommended that Group I be considered a period of externship training for family casework. It was felt that until professional schools offer a third year of field work training, family agencies would need to prepare graduates for their own work.

The Community Service Society of New York City, which has done considerable thinking in this area, has carefully outlined criteria for development in the period of externship. The plan assumes close and sustained supervision to be an enabling factor in the acquisition and integration of a body of knowledge, of method, of skills, of philosophy. It assumes a plan for limitation of case loads depending on agency situations. It suggests that case loads during the first year should not exceed twenty-five cases monthly by the end of the period. It suggests as important the restriction of assignments to those in areas of casework performance. Attendance at seminars when suited to the needs of the beginning worker is expected. The plan also suggests that during this period there should be concentration on direct service to clients aimed toward achievement of basic skills essential both to later depth and to range of activity. It outlines the variety of assignments designed to give the worker a desirable range of experience in diagnosis and treatment. Problem and treatment areas would include cases involving relief requests, unemployment problems, health services, referral to other social agencies, use of consultants (home economics, psychological, psychiatric, and the like), and experience with other departments of the agency. Orientation is carefully planned so that the worker may learn about the history of the agency, its structure, various departments, and sources of support.

Not many agencies operate a program so detailed and carefully worked out as the foregoing. The size of the agency, as it influences the amount and variety of intake and the availability of other more experienced staff, affect the ease of implementing such a program. But even in the smaller agency the same objectives and principles

should apply. The important consideration is, not to adhere too rigidly to a formula, but to be aware of the worker's tempo and capacity to take on and integrate new experiences.

Unfortunately, during the war years and since, when most agencies, especially in the smaller communities, were critically understaffed, the needs of the agency were often so pressing that it was necessary to push workers into responsibilities far beyond what their background of experience would make desirable. While the extreme degrees to which this was carried are clearly undesirable, there have been some positive aspects of this necessary acceleration. Some workers were surprisingly able to take in stride their greater responsibilities and to grow correspondingly. Others reacted to the pressures in a negative way and found them difficult to bear or even overwhelming. Acceleration, either by the agency or the school, is a gamble, and we must be careful to study what transpires in the process in order that we may prevent the worker from being injured.

Supervision is the keystone in any staff development program and still provides the most decisive frame of continued professional education. It should give "leadership which aims to develop individual strengths and to direct activities of staff in such a way as to bring about improvement in the entire service."¹ "The adequacy of agency function in bringing services to people in need occurs in direct relation to the growth of individual staff members in their capacity to render these services."² A supervisor sensitive to a worker's development in skill, to what his potentialities are, when and how much he can take on of new experience and responsibility, will assure a basis for continuing growth.

Unfortunately, again, the shortage of personnel and the needs of agencies have been such in recent years that many workers were pushed into supervisory positions before they were ready for them, often without the protections and help of careful orientation to, and supervision of, their own supervisory process. A desirable plan in preparing the worker for supervising is to have him refer to the literature on the subject as background for newly applied concepts, and to keep a detailed recording of his supervisory conferences with his student or worker. The record affords him, not only the benefit of

¹ *Supervision as an Administrative Process Contributing to Staff Development* (Federal Security Agency, Social Security Board, Bureau of Public Assistance Circular No. 6 [1940]), p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

his own retrospective analysis of the process, but assures more effective direction and help from his supervisor.

When several workers are beginning supervisory work at the same time within the agency, it is helpful to plan group discussions where common problems can be reviewed and security gained from the broader experiences of a number of supervisors. Many schools of social work plan such meetings for all supervisors of their students in order to integrate classroom and field work content. Some schools have more formalized courses, mandatory for supervisors in their first and second year of supervision. Supervisory courses have been listed in school catalogues for many years, but much more attention should be given this whole area in an effort to achieve more effective preparation and continuing development.

The Division of Technical Training of the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board has prepared an excellent brochure on "Supervision as an Administrative Process Contributing to Staff Development" to be used as working material by public assistance staffs. It outlines the concept, purpose, and use of supervision as an administrative process, and the methods and skills applicable in developmental supervision. More of this type of comprehensive treatment of the supervisory process should be developed for other fields.

If supervision is the keystone in any staff development program, then upon the soundness of its process depends the degree of effectiveness with which other educational opportunities will be used by staff. Only when there is strong supervisory leadership will such things as committee activity, study projects, institutes, psychiatric consultation, and professional reading have real meaning.

Participation in staff meetings and on staff and community committees is a valuable means of staff development and provides an excellent training ground for leadership. The executive, in sharing administrative matters with staff members, in having them think through policy determinants, can provide a valuable opportunity for growth. Here again, the stage of development and the security of the staff determine, first of all, whether such a program can be undertaken, and secondly, how broadly it can be applied. An insecure staff may first need to gain its security from executive or supervisory leadership before it can assume even small staff responsibilities.

A certain percentage of staff meetings should be devoted to case

discussion through which individual supervision can be broadened and enriched. Through conscious and careful planning, such discussion can be related to the needs of the workers and the demands of the agency's program. Many agencies have program committees which plan staff meetings and make recommendations to the administrative and supervisory group regarding the subject matter and timing of agency study groups, institutes, seminars, and other educational activities. Members, in turn, may be assigned responsibility for contacting speakers, acting as chairman of the meeting, leading and timing the discussion. In larger agencies and those with district offices, such a committee may also share information about district projects, district staff programs, and the like, each representative being responsible for taking such information back to his district and transmitting the thinking of his staff on matters calling for opinion or decision.

If there are free discussion and joint analysis of suggestions, questions, and critical comments, the staff begins to feel responsibility for its own development. Through the assumption of some of these minor responsibilities, greater insight is developed into the problems of administration. An elected committee is in a more strategic position than an appointed one to get true reactions from the staff. Many complaints may come in, not only those pertinent to the committee's activities, but also those unrelated to the committee's work. These should, of course, be discussed and channeled to the proper sources. Although size of staff and differences in experience and training would make for variation in plans for staff development committees, the same principles apply, even in a small staff: staff election where possible; democratic process; and giving of responsibility to staff members as a means of training for leadership.

Many agencies have joint board and staff committees in such areas as personnel, casework policy, public relations, or in special committees where board and staff may jointly consider new aspects of an agency's program that might call for a change in policy or emphasis, as, for example, in the matter of fees or problems of old age. The board has ultimate responsibility for policy-forming; the staff for carrying out that policy. It is essential, therefore, that the experience of both be constantly examined so that policy and practice be kept close together in carrying out the agency's purpose. It is well to have staff representatives bring reports of the work of these committees to

the staff and, in turn, take responsibility for carrying back to the committee any pertinent staff reactions. Such a process means more to the staff than to have such matters always routed through the executive. Interpretation of obstacles met and modifications necessary are usually better accepted from staff, particularly in such areas as personnel practices. These committees provide excellent training for the worker in learning how to interpret professional thinking to the lay person who represents community opinion, and how to temper and modify his own ideas in relation to it.

This same process would apply when the worker represents the agency in community committees. Here the worker begins to move into the broader aspects of social work thinking and into community planning. In those instances the worker would, of course, have the benefit of the executive's thinking in regard to the points at which agency policy or relationships were involved. The worker would also take responsibility for transmitting to the executive regular reports of the committee's progress.

An alert staff has a nearly constant stream of study projects under way on which staff members may follow the bent of their particular interests. Study projects do a great deal to broaden the perspective of the worker. A problem seen in several situations known to one worker takes on different proportions when he sees it against the whole of the agency's or community's interest in the situation. For example, the frustrations a worker feels in bumping his head against the stone wall of the housing shortage and its attendant effects on family disorganization are considerably modified when the entire agency's experience in this area is reviewed within the professional staff, then with case committee and board. Out of this develops a philosophy of the agency's role in the individual situation as well as a plan for community-wide action on the total problem. By such clarification, the worker is strengthened in his own case handling. At the same time, he learns the effectiveness of committee process, community organization, and social action channels in handling such social problems.

In the social group work field there is an increasing number of special projects undertaken with staff education as the main objective. In Pittsburgh, for example, the Group Workers Section of the Federation of Social Agencies carries considerable responsibility in this area with standing committees on methods of intercultural educa-

tion, casework-social group work projects, social group work with young adults, and on other appropriate subjects. Last year, Horace Cayton, co-author of *Black Metropolis* and head resident of Parkway Community House, and William H. Brueckner, head resident of Emerson House, both in Chicago, collaborated in planning an intercommunity and inter-racial camp experience for 100 children and the total staff of both agencies. Each staff member did an extensive piece of recording, and the material was later analyzed and interpreted. Under the sponsorship of the Council of Social Agencies, the findings, emphasizing the psychological interpretation of group behavior and working methods, were presented to a group of forty staff members from leading social group work agencies, as an opportunity for further learning. Such projects stimulate critical self-evaluation and lead to greater effectiveness of the agency's work.

Closely allied to such study projects is the more formalized kind of research. In general, social agencies have not carried on as much research beyond the student thesis level as they should. Yet without constant critical study of the methods, techniques, and results of their work, neither the individual worker nor the profession as a whole can advance.

Short study institutes on topics of current concern are a valuable means of continuing professional education. These may be planned by the agency staff on special problems of interest to the group, using agency material, as for example, a family agency's institute on marriage counseling or on work with adolescents; or institutes may be sponsored by a council of social agencies or community chest or by the professional organization or social workers' club for the entire social work community and would then deal with more general aspects of casework or social group work; or they may be held in connection with state or national conferences. The Ohio Welfare Conference each year offers twenty or twenty-five study groups on a wide variety of subjects, thereby reaching the interests of nearly every practicing group within the state.

Psychiatric consultation has for some time been taken for granted as a highly desirable aid in casework agencies, especially in the private field. Within the last decade, public assistance agencies in some of the metropolitan centers have provided this service to their agency staffs. In the social group work agencies, it has not been used so widely, but beginnings are being made. Since both social group work

and casework agencies are concerned with the dynamics of human behavior, psychiatric consultation is as valid in one as in the other. However, it is probably not so necessary in the average group work agency, since the large proportion of their program deals with well people, as compared with the proportion of emotionally disturbed people who make up the clientele of the casework agency.

A number of camp organizations have employed psychiatric consultants for their camping staffs. Here the psychiatrist advises regarding the handling of difficult behavior and group problems, interpretation of applications, and camp experiences, and assists in the in-service training of the camping staffs.

In the casework agency a psychiatric consultant can add to the understanding and knowledge of the staff in pointing up the dynamics in the situations presented and the implications for treatment within the particular agency setting. He may be used in individual case consultation, or, as is done in a number of settings, in seminar discussions of the individual cases by the entire staff. This latter plan affords educational opportunity to a larger group and thus is more economical of the consultant's time.

The main contribution of the psychiatric consultant in either a casework or social group work agency is in deepening the worker's understanding of the dynamics of human behavior and its application in the treatment relationship. The agency translates this knowledge, which is basic to all work with individuals, into treatment plans appropriate to the function of the particular agency. Psychiatric consultation should supplement what the agency already offers in supervision. In some agencies it has been substituted for supervision. When this is done, and it may be necessary in some instances, it should be recognized as undesirable and as an expedient device which does not take the place of good supervision.

The Omaha Family Agency, facing the difficult problem of developing facilities for training in psychiatric principles in a community where the psychiatric resources were limited, worked out an interesting plan whereby the Institute for Psychoanalysis in Chicago gave seminars of two days each at monthly intervals. Other courses were arranged for students from the University of Nebraska School of Social Work and for board members. This is an excellent example of helping in the education and training of social work students,

and, at the same time, of increasing the board's understanding of how psychiatric consultation benefits the agency.

Not every agency can afford seminars with outside specialists, but some of the same values can be achieved through conscious and careful planning of a certain percentage of staff meetings devoted to case discussion. In small agencies with less than six professional staff members, or those in isolated regions far from centers where agencies may exchange ideas, a real problem is faced. In some communities it has been met by several agencies from near-by towns combining forces for case discussion and for the use of psychiatric or casework consultation.

Self-education by reading professional magazines, pamphlets, and books and by attendance at conferences is a form of staff development which can operate anywhere and should be actively encouraged. Even if, within our own agency, it is not feasible or possible to put the newer developments into practice, we should at least be familiar with them and see our own program in relation to them. In the social group work field, for example, the size of the city, the limitations of staff, and the more pressing demands of the program may determine that group therapy is not a practical project for the agency. Similarly, the elimination of settlement requirements in a public assistance agency may be desirable but not possible in a particular community. A fee system in the private family agency may be recognized as a highly desirable addition to the agency's plan of service but not wise if the staff or community is not ready for it. Nevertheless, the workers in these various agencies should have studied thoroughly the newer developments in their respective fields and have related them to the possible application in their agencies. In those areas where the content of our reading or conference material touches upon matters within our daily practice, it goes without saying that it should not be swallowed whole but should be strictly tested against our experience.

Unless the various features of a staff development program are well integrated, confusion may result. It is essential, therefore, that along with providing the staff with developmental opportunities, one must also provide a staff member with the time to pull the over-all program together, emphasizing the way in which one measure affects the other. If a staff project on relief practices in a public assistance or private

family agency has drawn certain conclusions, it is important that the supervisors discuss how they can consistently make use of the new concepts and conclusions in practice. An educational program, to be truly effective, cannot stop short of implementation and integration. It cannot be assumed that content gained from psychiatric case consultation, from seminars, or from special projects will bring improvement merely through a caseworker's "doin' what comes natch'rally," after exposure to an educational opportunity.

Thus we have seen that the agency must provide a proper milieu for a staff development program, that the structure of the agency, the quality of staff, and their inter-relationships are important factors; that with strong supervision as a base, other developmental opportunities, if well integrated, can add materially to the continuing education of the professional worker. This process must be continuous and must pervade every part of the agency, if the agency is to give a good and progressively more adequate service to the community.

With the increasing complexity of the current social order, with each individual a part of an ever widening world, we have seen an increase in the number and intensity of emotional problems and a correspondingly greater recognition of the way these problems affect the individual's adjustment to that world. More and more people are seeking the help of social agencies, and greater skills will be needed to give the required services. Therefore, the responsibility of the agencies is to break new ground, and through experimentation and creative practice to advance both knowledge and understanding of human and community needs, and of the methods, processes, and skills by which these needs can be more effectively met. The schools of social work must constantly draw upon the best and most advanced in practice, and formulate this into a body of knowledge which can then be taught. Only through this process—through the continuing development of practice in the agency—can the profession advance.

STATE PARTICIPATION IN THE NATIONAL MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM

By R. H. Felix, M.D.

NOW THAT THE NATIONAL MENTAL HEALTH ACT has become law, we at last have an opportunity to cope on a broad, nation-wide scale with one of America's major public health problems. The concept of mental illness as a public health problem has been rather slow in gaining general acceptance since people are inclined to think of mental disorders as phenomena peculiar to isolated individuals. However, the prevalence of mental illness, let alone its costliness, certainly qualifies it as a public health problem, necessitating public responsibility for its prevention and eradication.

The 600,000 patients in mental hospitals who occupy more than half of all the hospital beds in the country; the 225,000 new patients who enter mental hospitals every year; the millions of citizens who suffer from psychosomatic or other neurotic symptoms; the countless children who show behavior problems or turn delinquent as a result of emotional disturbances—all attest the crying need for a public health program to improve the mental health of our people, and the wisdom of the Congress in passing legislation which would make such a program possible.

For those who are unfamiliar with the provisions of the act, a brief résumé may be in order:

Research.—The United States Public Health Service is authorized to make grants-in-aid for research directly to universities, hospitals, laboratories, and other public and private institutions, and to qualified individuals. Research projects must first be recommended by the National Advisory Mental Health Council. The law further provides for the appointment of research fellows in the various sciences related to mental health. The fellowship program will make it financially possible for capable students to contribute to science while enhancing their own value and professional prestige. This authorization, it is hoped, will do much to stimulate research which otherwise might remain in the idea stage.

The act also authorizes the establishment of a National Institute of Mental Health where coördinated studies will be conducted in the many sciences which bear upon the problem. For clinical observation the institute will include a hospital unit, the patients to be selected on the basis of the studies being conducted.

Training.—The shortage of well-trained personnel is one of the most serious handicaps in the development of an adequate mental health program. The act therefore authorizes the Public Health Service to make grants to public and other nonprofit institutions for developing and improving their training facilities. In this way institutions that already provide training in mental health fields can expand to accommodate more students, and potential training centers can be developed. Grants may not be used, however, for the construction of buildings.

Training stipends will be available to selected students in psychiatry, psychology, psychiatric social work, and psychiatric nursing. The National Advisory Mental Health Council has authorized the Public Health Service to grant a total of not more than 600 stipends during the next fiscal year to graduate students, equally divided among the four mental health specialty fields. These annual stipends will range from \$1,200 through \$2,400 for clinical psychologists, psychiatric social workers, and psychiatric nurses and up to \$3,600 for psychiatrists, depending upon the level of training for which the applicant is eligible. The awards will be made through the institutions collaborating in this phase of the training program.

Grants to states.—The act seeks further to promote the expansion and improvement of mental health services at the state and community level. Under the National Mental Health Act the amount to be appropriated annually for grants to states for general health purposes is increased by \$10,000,000. This is the maximum sum that can be made available for assistance in the development and expansion of mental health programs at the state and community level. It is not anticipated that the full amount will be utilized during the first year of the program.

Grants will be made on a matching basis and will take into account population, financial need, and the extent of the mental health problem in the state. They will be made through the State Mental Health Authority, the only state agency with which the Federal Government will deal in this aspect of the program. In the act the State Mental

Health Authority is defined as "the State health authority, except that, in the case of any State in which there is a single State agency other than the State health authority charged with responsibility for administering the mental health program of the State, it means such other State agency."

In order to secure a grant, the State Mental Health Authority will be required to submit for approval by the Surgeon General a plan for the development of mental health services in the state, together with budget estimates. It is obvious that the state Authority will need the close coöperation of interested state and local organizations so that existing needs may be pointed out and potential resources fully utilized.

The act also provides that the Service may utilize up to \$1,000,000 of the general health funds to set up demonstrations that will serve as valuable means of inaugurating state programs where organization and facilities are absent or inadequate.

In general, there are four basic activities which state plans should include:

1. There should be an appraisal of the state's mental health needs and resources, on the basis of which immediate and long-range plans should be developed. State and community organizations can be of immeasurable assistance by surveying their own communities and presenting their findings and recommendations to the State Mental Health Authority.

2. When necessary, the staff in the central office of the State Mental Health Authority should be enlarged to carry out the functions incumbent upon that office. Most important of these functions are:

- a) The promotion and development, subsidy or operation of psychiatric clinical services

- b) The licensure and inspection of private mental hospitals

- c) The development of state-wide records of the incidence of mental diseases and emotional disorders

- d) The training of professional personnel for state and local mental health work

- e) The development of research in mental diseases and emotional disorders

- f) The education of other professional health workers, particularly public health nurses, in mental hygiene in order that they may contribute to mental health in the performance of their regular duties

g) The development of a well-rounded and practical program of mental health education of the public

h) Liaison or consultation with other departments, such as education, welfare, correction, civil service, and so forth

3. New services in the central office will undoubtedly be needed. For example, a section on training might be set up to stimulate and coordinate in-service and out-service training programs for social workers, mental hospital staff physicians, nurses, attendants, and other personnel. A training program for the psychiatric orientation of the general practitioner should also be given serious consideration. Properly trained and sensitized to the presence of psychiatric disturbances, he can deal effectively with the milder cases and, through an understanding of psychosomatic medicine, can give more comprehensive attention to all his patients.

4. The core of the state's program is the establishment and expansion of community mental health clinics. According to the latest available information, there is in this country only about one fifth of the needed clinic services, and these are for the most part concentrated in the larger population centers. Approximately thirteen states are entirely without mental health clinic services, and large areas in other states have no psychiatric facilities whatsoever.

The present goal of the Public Health Service is the establishment by the states of one out-patient mental health clinic for at least each 100,000 of the population. Although this goal is not immediately attainable due to the shortage of personnel, it may eventually prove to be quite conservative in terms of the need.

There is a time-proven formula for providing mental health clinic services, although it may be that in a given state another approach would yield better results. Following is the standard pattern:

It is preferable that the mental health clinic service be integrated with other health services in the community. The basic staff should consist of one psychiatrist, one psychologist, two psychiatric social workers, and the necessary clerical assistance. In addition, one psychiatrically trained public health nurse can be of great assistance. The clinic should be available to everyone.

State plans should include the provision of mental health clinic services to sparsely settled and rural areas. This could be done by means of traveling clinic teams, emanating from a strategically located regional office, which would visit rural communities at regular in-

tervals. A nucleus of local persons, perhaps in, or associated with, a health or welfare agency, should carry out the recommendations made by the traveling team, and establish some sense of continuity between visits. Early in the program, one member of the central clinic staff, preferably the psychiatric social worker, should be permanently located in the branch office, the other members coming at frequent intervals to provide a more complete service.

Each clinic should serve as a psychiatric treatment clinic; as an auxiliary service to the mental hospital; and as an agency for community mental health education.

As a psychiatric treatment clinic it would provide out-patient psychiatric treatment or psychological counseling for patients not in need of hospitalization. The integration of mental health services with other medical services should encourage the referral of patients in the early stage of illness, particularly as physicians and other clinic workers become more aware of the emotional implications of the disease processes. An illustration is the psychic trauma following the discovery by a patient that he has tuberculosis. Such a patient may need emotional support which the clinic can supply in coöperation with the specialist. In some cases serious emotional disturbances may be avoided by proper psychiatric care which would be available through the clinic.

As an auxiliary service to the mental hospital, the clinic would provide prehospital service, including the preparation of the patient and his family for the new situation, to those in need of institutional care; would carry out follow-up treatment of patients on provisional discharge; and would supervise care and custody and boarded-out cases from the hospital. In this connection, too great emphasis cannot be given to the need for a closer working relationship between clinic workers and hospital workers. All too often, social workers have little knowledge of, or interest in, what goes on in the state hospitals and of the trials and tribulations which confront workers in the hospital. Local social work organizations might consider methods by which to gain a better understanding of the problems inherent in their mental hospitals.

The mental health education function of the clinic would include active case-finding programs; the study and control of mental diseases from an epidemiological standpoint; and the dissemination of information about mental health principles and practices.

If we are ever to reduce the volume of mental illnesses we must find the people who need help, bring them in contact with clinic facilities, and treat them as promptly as possible. It must be admitted, in all honesty, that our present methods of case-finding are still in a primitive stage. It is time to think in terms of broad programs and of developing case-finding techniques comparable to those which have proved so successful in tuberculosis and other public health problems. We need to develop procedures which will highlight those individuals who might be susceptible to emotional difficulties. The "positive reactors" would then be given an intensive examination to determine whether they needed treatment. If 50 percent of the individuals identified by such screening methods were found to be in need of definitive treatment, the value of such a procedure would be great, since it is unlikely that these individuals would otherwise be identified until much later in their illness. Just as the stigma attached to tuberculosis has gradually dwindled in the wake of community education and mass survey programs, so, it is believed, mental illness will come to be accepted with better grace as the public becomes informed about it and accepts case-finding programs as a logical part of community health services.

Incipient cases of mental illness may be looked for profitably, and good opportunities for preventive psychiatry exist, in the schools, courts, health and welfare agencies, and so forth. The personnel of these agencies need to be able to recognize early symptomatic behavior.

The clinic staff can help to orient these personnel to mental hygiene concepts. This can perhaps best be done through participation in staff conferences. Here interpretation of a patient's condition, causative factors, and plan of treatment will not only help the worker to gain a better grasp of the patient's problems, but will also help him in applying this knowledge to similar cases, which as a consequence may never need to be referred. Seminars on mental health might also be held under clinic auspices for workers attached to these agencies.

It is particularly in the field of mental health education that community social work groups can make an invaluable contribution. Mental health education, not only of the clinic patient and his family, but of the community at large, is of fundamental importance. Obviously, if patients suffering from milder disorders are to have an

opportunity for treatment while the chance for recovery is greatest, they must come for aid. The ignorance and misconceptions which make patients reluctant to seek treatment must be overcome. In the public mind, mental illness is largely an all-or-none affair, as expressed in the established legal fiction that a person is either sane or insane. Under a system which, in general, makes little provision for psychiatric treatment until the patient is committed to an institution, it is scarcely surprising that this view has endured.

Health and welfare agencies can do much by the dissemination of facts which will dispel the notion that mental illness is a mysterious, incurable, or disgraceful affliction. At every opportunity they can impress upon the public that, if treated early, many types of mental illness offer good hope of cure or material improvement.

To acquaint others with the truth about mental illness, social workers must themselves be familiar with the facts and able to recognize symptoms of mental disturbances in their incipency. Because of their intimate contact with the community, social workers are in an especially strategic position to refer persons in need of treatment at the earliest possible moment. Agencies whose workers are not psychiatrically oriented should offer in-service training courses which would keep their workers informed about mental health principles and practices and make them aware of whatever psychiatric implications may be present in their clients' problems.

Special problems frequently make themselves felt before the need for an all-purpose clinic is appreciated. For example, there may be a pressing need for a child guidance clinic or for psychiatric services in the school or in the court. It would be logical, in that case, to initiate the community mental health program by establishing first those services most urgently needed. The program, however, should not stop there. It should progressively be expanded to include mental health services for the whole community.

The coöperation of state and community professional and lay organizations with the State Mental Health Authority, both in the preparation of plans and in carrying them out, cannot be too strongly emphasized. It would be well, for example, to have a representative of the State Mental Health Authority as an active member of welfare councils or of advisory boards. In this way there can be greater assurance of having a coördinated state program, eliminating duplication of effort, and making the best possible use of community resources.

Lest hope be aroused that the millennium in psychiatric services is around the corner, it must be pointed out that the need for mental health services is very great and that the shortage of personnel makes the provision of the full quota of services not immediately possible. This means that, at least in the initial years of the program, the need for mental health services may go unmet in many localities. It also means that state and community coöperation is essential from the very start if an equitable state-wide program is eventually to be realized.

The acceptance by the Federal Government of greatly increased responsibilities in this field is of tremendous significance. It does not mean, however, that the responsibility of the individual states has been lessened in any degree. Quite to the contrary. The success of the program depends upon the type of teamwork which has proved so effective in other fields of public health—the coöperation and participation of states, communities, and public and private professional and lay organizations. With such teamwork this nation can look forward with confidence to a successful conquest of one of mankind's worst afflictions.

APPENDIX A: BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1947

OFFICERS

President: Arlien Johnson, Los Angeles
First Vice President: Robert P. Lane, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Second Vice President: Ruth Gartland,* Pittsburgh
Third Vice President: Kate McMahon, Boston
Treasurer: Arch Mandel, New York
General Secretary: Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: Arlien Johnson, President; Robert P. Lane, First Vice President; Ruth Gartland,* Second Vice President; Kate McMahon, Third Vice President; Kenneth L. M. Pray, Past President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer

Term expiring 1947: Maude T. Barrett, New York; Chester L. Bower, Houston, Texas; Harry M. Cassidy, Toronto, Canada; Rudolph T. Danstedt, St. Louis, Mo.; Mary B. Holsinger, Albany, N.Y.; Helen R. Jeter, London, England; Lillian J. Johnson, Seattle, Wash.; Elizabeth S. Magee, Cleveland; Orville Robertson, Seattle, Wash. *Term expiring 1948:* Elsa Castendyck, Washington, D.C.; Stanley P. Davies, New York; Ruth Gartland,* Pittsburgh; Helen W. Hanchette, Cleveland; Robert P. Lane, Brooklyn, N.Y.; George W. Rabinoff, New York; Wilma Walker, Chicago. *Term expiring 1949:* Paul Benjamin, Schenectady, N.Y.; Florence Hollis, New York; Margaret Johnson, Cleveland; Dorothy King, Montreal, Canada; Howard W. Odum, New Haven, Conn.; Rev. Almon R. Pepper, New York; Helen R. Wright, Chicago

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Chairman: Beth Muller, Chicago

Term expiring 1947: Rolo Barnes, Boston; Fern L. Chamberlain, Pierre, S.Dak.; Beth Muller, Chicago; Edith Dumont Smith, Omaha, Nebr.; Emil M. Sunley, Morgantown, W.Va. *Term expiring 1948:* Bernice Bish, Kansas City, Mo.; Rev. John J. Donovan, New York; Edward S. Lewis, New York; Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati, Ohio; Bernard A. Roloff, Pittsburgh; John Slawson, New York; Nellie L. Woodward, San Francisco. *Term expiring 1949:* Edith M. Baker, Washington, D.C.; Karl de Schweinitz,

* Deceased.

Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth H. Dexter, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Ruth Emerson, South Yarmouth, Mass.; Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.; Roy Sorenson, San Francisco; Charlotte Towle, Chicago

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Ex Officio: Arlien Johnson, Los Angeles, Chairman; Kenneth L. M. Pray, Philadelphia; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

Term expiring 1947: Leah Feder, Cleveland; K. L. Messenger, Rochester, N.Y. *Term expiring 1948:* Edgar M. Gerlach, New York; Sue Spencer, New York. *Term expiring 1949:* Julius Goldman, New Orleans; Phyllis Osborn, Kansas City, Mo. *Section chairmen:* Grace A. Browning, Indianapolis; Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland; Ray L. Huff, Washington, D.C.; Merrill F. Krughoff, New York; Rev. Lucian Lauerma, Washington, D.C.; Hyman Lippman, M.D., St. Paul, Minn.; John McDowell, New York; Florence M. Mason, Cleveland; Maud Morlock, Washington, D.C.; W. I. Newstetter, Pittsburgh; Dorothea F. Sullivan, Washington, D.C.; Grace White, New York

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Chairman: Harold F. Strong, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.

Term expiring 1947: Lucia J. Bing, Cleveland; Marie Duffin, New York; Marcel Kovarsky, St. Louis, Mo.; Ralph J. Reed, Portland, Oreg.; Harold F. Strong, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.; Louis Towley, St. Louis, Mo.; Creed Ward, Cleveland. *Term expiring 1948:* Reba E. Choate, Nashville, Tenn.; Cecile Hillyer, Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth L. Holbrook, Boston; Mary F. McKeever, Tulsa, Okla.; W. E. Stanley, Durham, N.C.; Terrance L. Wester, Columbus, Ohio; William R. Westwood, Tilton, N.H. *Term expiring 1949:* Raymond E. Baarts, Kansas City, Mo.; Elwood Camp, Washington, D.C.; Angela Cox, Atlanta, Ga.; Anthony De Marinis, St. Louis, Mo.; Elizabeth Long, Washington, D.C.; Mary A. Mason, Boston; Harry J. Sapper, Oakland, Calif.

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Chairman: Fred K. Hoehler, Chicago

Members: Charles Alspach, Washington, D.C.; Joseph Anderson, New York; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis, Mo.; Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland; Michael M. Davis, New York; Harry Greenstein, Baltimore; Jane M. Hoey, Washington, D.C.; Mary E. Hurlbutt, New York; Arlien Johnson, Los Angeles; Dorothy C. Kahn, New York; M. J. Karpf, Los Angeles; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio; Hertha Kraus, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; Katharine F. Lenroot, Washington, D.C.; James T. Nicholson, Washington, D.C.; Lillie Peck, New York; Kurt Peiser, Philadelphia; Walter W. Pettit, New York; Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N.J.; Kenneth L. M. Pray, Philadelphia; George W. Rabinoff, New York; Howard Russell, Chicago; Alice Shaffer,

Washington, D.C.; G. Howland Shaw, Washington, D.C.; William F. Snow, M.D., New York; Frances Taussig, New York; Mary van Kleeck, New York; Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta, Ga.; Benjamin Youngdahl, St. Louis, Mo.

ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

SECTION I. SOCIAL CASEWORK

Chairman: Florence Mason, Cleveland

Vice chairman: Ruth K. Lynch, New York

Term expiring 1947: Rae Carp Weil, Cleveland; Lucile L. Chamberlin, Washington, D.C.; Richard Chappell, Washington, D.C.; Nelle Lane Gardner, Pittsburgh; Ann P. Halliday, Philadelphia; Lucile Ahanawake Hastings, Chicago. *Term expiring 1948:* Florence M. Mason, Cleveland; Mazie F. Rappaport, Baltimore; Audrey F. Sayman, New Orleans; Bernice E. Scroggie, Washington, D.C.; Marjorie J. Smith, Vancouver, B.C., Canada. *Term expiring 1949:* Muriel J. Gayford, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; Elsie Huseman, St. Louis, Mo.; Claudia Wannamaker, Chicago

SECTION II. CHILD CARE

Chairman: Maud Morlock, Washington, D.C.

Vice chairman: Helen Weiss, Pittsburgh

Term expiring 1947: Kenneth R. Foresman, Los Angeles; Geraldine C. Graham, Louisville, Ky.; Louise Griffin, Indianapolis; Lola D. Plummer, Nashville, Tenn. *Term expiring 1948:* Charles L. Burt, Providence, R.I.; Paul Schreiber, Baltimore. *Term expiring 1949:* Gladys E. Hall, New Orleans; Kate Bullock Helms, Columbia, S.C.; Wendell F. Johnson, Toledo, Ohio

SECTION III. DELINQUENCY

Chairman: Ray L. Huff, Washington, D.C.

Vice chairman: Eileen Ward, San Francisco

Term expiring 1947: Edna Mahan, Clinton, N.J.; Rhoda J. Milliken, Washington, D.C.; William T. Squire, Hartford, Conn. *Term expiring 1948:* A. G. Fraser, Philadelphia; G. Howland Shaw, Washington, D.C.; Herbert D. Williams, State School, Orange Co., N.Y. *Term expiring 1949:* Charles L. Chute, New York; Roy L. McLaughlin, Meriden, Conn.; Alice Scott Nutt, Washington, D.C.

SECTION IV. THE AGED

Chairman: Rev. Lucian Lauerman, Washington, D.C.

Vice chairman: Florence Sytz, New Orleans

Term expiring 1947: Marjorie H. Jones, Fairmont, W.Va.; Lillie Peck, New York; J. M. Wedemeyer, Olympia, Wash. *Term expiring 1948:* Evelyn

McKay, New York; Lucille M. Smith, Washington, D.C.; Margaret W. Wagner, Cleveland. *Term expiring 1949*: Esther R. Elder, San Francisco; Edith Holloway, Rochester, N.Y.; Maurice Taylor, Pittsburgh

SECTION V. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Chairman: John McDowell, New York

Vice chairman: Edwin C. Berry, Portland, Oreg.

Term expiring 1947: Elizabeth Baker, Montclair, N.J.; Louise Parrott Cochran, New York; Leah K. Dickinson, Washington, D.C.; Fritz Redl, Detroit; Walter L. Stone, Nashville, Tenn. *Term expiring 1948*: Vilona Cutler, Oklahoma City, Okla.; W. T. McCullough, Cleveland; John C. Newbauer, San Francisco; Elizabeth V. Thomas, Vancouver, B.C., Canada; Edith I. Yeomans, Hartford, Conn. *Term expiring 1949*: Irene Anderson, Roxbury, Mass.; Helen D. Green, Pittsburgh; Hollis Vick, Detroit

SECTION VI. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND PLANNING

Chairman: W. I. Newstetter, Pittsburgh

Vice chairman: Dorothy C. Kahn, New York

Term expiring 1947: Whitcomb H. Allen, San Antonio, Texas; Lorne W. Bell, Honolulu, Hawaii; Mrs. W. T. Bost, Raleigh, N.C.; Eva Hance, San Francisco; Mrs. R. A. Thorndyke, Bar Harbor, Maine. *Term expiring 1948*: Richard S. Bachman, Detroit; Leila G. Johnson, Columbia, S.C.; R. Maurice Moss, Pittsburgh; Leroy A. Ramsdell, Hartford, Conn.; Ralph J. Reed, Portland, Oreg. *Term expiring 1949*: M. Ruth Butler, Philadelphia; Helen Hackett, Los Angeles; Benjamin E. Youngdahl, St. Louis, Mo.

SECTION VII. PUBLIC WELFARE

Chairman: Grace A. Browning, Indianapolis

Vice chairman: T. J. S. Waxter, Baltimore

Term expiring 1947: Isabel M. Devine, Miami Beach, Fla.; Selene Gifford, Washington, D.C.; May O. Hankins, Richmond, Va.; Maria P. Rahn, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico; Nadia Thomas, Kansas City, Mo. *Term expiring 1948*: Ruth Bowen, Lansing, Mich.; H. E. Chamberlain, M.D., Sacramento, Calif.; Catherine M. Manning, Rochester, N.Y.; Harry O. Page, Albany, N.Y.; Howard L. Russell, Chicago. *Term expiring 1949*: Helen E. Hayden, Kansas City, Mo.; Walter B. Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn.; Ruth C. Olson, Kansas City, Mo.

SECTION VIII. HEALTH

Chairman: Grace White, New York

Vice chairman: Ray Everett, Washington, D.C.

Term expiring 1947: Anne E. Geddes, Washington, D.C.; Irene Grant,

Washington, D.C.; Philip D. Wilson, M.D., New York. *Term expiring 1948*: Flora E. Burton, Tewksbury, Mass.; Dorothy Deming, New York; Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Washington, D.C. *Term expiring 1949*: Eleanor Hearon Brooks, Denver, Colo.; Eleanor Cockerill, Pittsburgh; William F. Orr, Nashville, Tenn.

SECTION IX. MENTAL HEALTH

Chairman: Hyman Lippman, M.D., St. Paul, Minn.

Vice chairman: Kathleen O. Larkin, Chicago

Term expiring 1947: Ruth Lloyd, Boston; Lila McNutt, Madison, Wis.; Lee L. Yugend, Alexandria, Va. *Term expiring 1948*: George Pratt, M.D., New York; Mary E. Rall, Chicago; Mrs. H. C. Solomon, Boston. *Term expiring 1949*: Douglass Gordon Campbell, M.D., Berkeley, Calif.; George S. Stevenson, M.D., New York; Katharine M. Wichman, New York

SECTION X. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman: Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland

Vice chairman: Robert L. Kinney, New York

Term expiring 1947: John A. Fitch, New York; Lester B. Granger, New York; Frederick J. Soule, Roxbury, Mass. *Term expiring 1948*: Ewan Clague, Washington, D.C.; Myron Falk, Baton Rouge, La.; Hasseltine Byrd Taylor, Berkeley, Calif. *Term expiring 1949*: Arthur Dunham, Detroit; Josephine Roche, Denver, Colo.; Arnold B. Walker, Cincinnati, Ohio

SECTION XI. METHODS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman: Dorothea F. Sullivan, Washington, D.C.

Vice chairman: Isidore Sobeloff, Detroit

Term expiring 1947: Helen A. Brown, Louisville, Ky.; Eveline M. Burns, Orange Co., N.Y.; Edward S. Lewis, New York; Alton A. Linford, Chicago; Bertha C. Reynolds, New York. *Term expiring 1948*: Louise C. Odenrantz, New York; Masao Satow, Salt Lake City, Utah; Gustav L. Schramm, Pittsburgh; Arthur L. Swift, Jr., New York; Helen L. Witmer, Northampton, Mass. *Term expiring 1949*: Joseph P. Anderson, New York; Eugene Jonquet, Seattle, Wash.; S. Vincent Owens, St. Paul, Minn.

SECTION XII. ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: Merrill F. Krughoff, New York

Vice chairman: Margaret E. Rich, Pittsburgh

Term expiring 1947: Ethel Cohen, Boston; Ralph A. Uihlein, Milwaukee, Wis.; Marian L. Voges, New York. *Term expiring 1948*: Gertrude Binder, New York; Virginia Howlett, Philadelphia; Clare M. Tousley, New York. *Term expiring 1949*: Paul T. Beisser, Ocean City, Md.; Perry B. Hall, Hartford, Conn.; Ella W. Reed, Wyoming, Ohio

APPENDIX B: MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

Thursday, April 17, 1947: Annual Business Meeting

There being a quorum present, the President, Arlien Johnson, called the meeting to order and called for the report of the Treasurer, Arch Mandel. Mr. Mandel presented his report as follows:

A Treasurer's statement at the end of the first three months of the fiscal year and prior to the Annual Meeting can only show our financial conditions as of March 30, and our hopes for the balance of the year as based on our original estimates.

During the period January 1-March 31 we received a total of \$21,898.12 and expended \$20,083.89, leaving a cash balance of \$1,814.23. The statements that follow give the details of all financial transactions for the first three months. It should be noted however, that we had due on March 30, \$5,553.02 of bills for printing which have been carried over into April.

Much depends for the balance of the year on the membership campaign as announced at the beginning of the year.

To come through this year successfully in spite of the difficulties we all recognize will require the loyal support of members and increased membership from the social work constituency who ought to be members but who, for various reasons, have not been such in recent years.

Respectfully submitted,

ARCH MANDEL
Treasurer

At the close of his report Mr. Mandel pointed out the serious financial condition of the Conference and the absolute necessity, not only of increasing the total number of memberships according to the campaign now under way, but also of increasing the amount of the membership fee. No recommendation for changing the membership fee was presented at this time because of the fact that a proposed new Constitution was coming before the membership for action, and the provision for change, if any, would be made in connection with the new Constitution.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

RECAPITULATION AND FORECAST

Receipts

Total Balance and Receipts—January 1, 1947–March 31, 1947:

Operating Account	\$21,411.37	
Annual Meeting Account	<u>486.75</u>	
Total actual receipts		\$ 21,898.12

Estimated Budget Receipts—April 1, 1947–December 31, 1947:

Operating Account	\$62,800.61	
Annual Meeting Account	<u>15,613.25</u>	
Total estimated receipts		<u>78,413.86</u>
Total Actual and Estimated Receipts		\$100,311.98

Expenditures

Total Expenditures—January 1, 1947–March 31, 1947:

Operating Account	\$17,192.50	
Annual Meeting Account	<u>2,891.39</u>	
Total expenditures		\$ 20,083.89

Estimated Budget Expenditures—April 1, 1947–December 31, 1947:

Operating Account	\$49,867.97	
Annual Meeting Account	<u>12,458.61</u>	
Bill for 1946 <i>Proceedings</i>	<u>9,000.00</u>	
Total estimated expenditures		<u>71,326.58</u>
Total Actual Expenditures and Estimated Budget Expenditures		\$ 91,410.47

OPERATING ACCOUNT, JANUARY 1, 1947-MARCH 31, 1947

Operating Balance, January 1, 1947 \$ 895.98

Receipts, Budget:

Memberships	\$19,923.59	
Sales of <i>Bulletin</i>	58.25	
Contributions	150.00	
Refunds	983.55	
Total receipts, Operating Account	\$20,515.39	
Total receipts, Annual Meeting Account	486.75	
Total receipts		21,002.14
Total Receipts and Balance		\$ 21,898.12

Expenditures, Budget:

Salaries	\$ 8,668.19	
Travel	3,820.01	
Printing	1,769.18	
Postage	1,030.78	
Supplies	247.61	
Telephone and telegraph	304.89	
Rent	450.00	
Equipment and repair	86.36	
Retirement	453.60	
Miscellaneous	321.41	
Total expenditures, Operating Account	\$17,152.03	
Total expenditures, Annual Meeting Account	2,891.39	
Bill for 1945 <i>Proceedings</i>	40.47	
Total Expenditures		\$ 20,083.89
Balance		\$ 1,814.23

Functional Distribution of Expenditures:

General administration	\$ 5,754.68	
Membership promotion	1,506.39	
Program Committee	2,078.13	
<i>Bulletin</i>	663.17	
Office operation	6,374.65	
Retirement	453.60	
Other	321.41	
Total		\$ 17,152.03

ANNUAL MEETING ACCOUNT, JANUARY 1, 1947-MARCH 31, 1947

Operating Balance, January 1, 1947 \$ None

Receipts, Budget:

Attendance fees	\$ 258.00	
Booths	150.00	
Printing	<u>78.75</u>	
Total receipts, Annual Meeting Account		\$ 486.75
Total Receipts and Balance		<u>\$ 486.75</u>

Expenditures, Budget:

Travel	\$ 2,375.93	
Supplies	83.00	
Miscellaneous	<u>432.46</u>	
Total expenditures, Annual Meeting Account		2,891.39
Due Operating Account		<u>\$ 2,404.64</u>

Functional Distribution of Expenditures:

General administration	\$ 2,458.93	
Other	<u>432.46</u>	
Total		\$ 2,891.39

BUDGET STATEMENTS

OPERATING ACCOUNT, JANUARY 1, 1947-MARCH 31, 1947

(Contains Only Net Receipts and Expenditures Properly Credited
and Charged to the 1947 Budget)

<i>Receipts:</i>	<i>Budget Estimate</i>	<i>Budget Receipts</i>	<i>Budget Difference</i>
Memberships	\$78,316.00	\$19,923.59	\$58,392.41
Attendance fees	2,000.00	...	2,000.00
Miscellaneous	3,000.00	591.80	2,408.20
Total	<u>\$83,316.00</u>	<u>\$20,515.39</u>	<u>\$62,800.61</u>
<i>Expenditures:</i>	<i>Allowed</i>	<i>Expended</i>	<i>Balance</i>
Salaries	\$27,720.00	\$ 8,668.19	\$19,051.81
Travel	7,250.00	3,820.01	3,429.99
Printing	21,500.00	1,769.18	19,730.82
Postage	2,150.00	1,030.78	1,119.22
Supplies	800.00	247.61	552.39
Telephone and telegraph	900.00	304.89	595.11
Rent	1,800.00	450.00	1,350.00
Equipment and repair	600.00	86.36	513.64
Retirement	3,300.00	453.60	2,846.40
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	321.41	678.59
Total	<u>\$67,020.00</u>	<u>\$17,152.03</u>	<u>\$49,867.97</u>
<i>Functional Distribution of Expenditures:</i>			
General administration	\$16,600.00	\$ 5,754.68	\$10,845.32
Membership promotion	4,750.00	1,506.39	3,243.61
Program Committee	2,400.00	2,078.13	321.87
Proceedings	13,000.00	...	13,000.00
Bulletin	6,150.00	663.17	5,486.83
Office operation	19,820.00	6,374.65	13,445.35
Retirement	3,300.00	453.60	2,846.40
Other	1,000.00	321.41	678.59
Total	<u>\$67,020.00</u>	<u>\$17,152.03</u>	<u>\$49,867.97</u>

ANNUAL MEETING ACCOUNT, JANUARY 1, 1947-MARCH 31, 1947

(Contains Only All Net Items of Receipts and Expenditures Properly
Charged to the 1947 Annual Meeting Account)

<i>Receipts:</i>	<i>Budget Estimate</i>	<i>Budget Receipts</i>	<i>Budget Difference</i>
Attendance fees	\$11,000.00	\$ 258.00	\$10,742.00
Booths	3,600.00	150.00	3,450.00
Printing	1,500.00	78.75	1,421.25
Total	<u>\$16,100.00</u>	<u>\$ 486.75</u>	<u>\$15,613.25</u>
<i>Expenditures:</i>	<i>Allowed</i>	<i>Expended</i>	<i>Balance</i>
Salaries	\$ 2,050.00	\$...	\$ 2,050.00
Travel	4,800.00	2,375.93	2,424.07
Printing	4,400.00	...	4,400.00
Supplies and equipment	3,200.00	83.00	3,117.00
Telephone and telegraph	400.00	...	400.00
Miscellaneous	500.00	432.46	67.54
Total	<u>\$15,350.00</u>	<u>\$ 2,891.39</u>	<u>\$12,458.61</u>
<i>Functional Distribution of Expenditures:</i>			
General administration	\$ 7,400.00	\$ 2,458.93	\$ 4,941.07
Publicity and press service	1,250.00	...	1,250.00
Booths	2,400.00	...	2,400.00
Program and daily <i>Bulletin</i>	3,800.00	...	3,800.00
Other	500.00	432.46	67.54
Total	<u>\$15,350.00</u>	<u>\$ 2,891.39</u>	<u>\$12,458.61</u>

STATUS OF MEMBERSHIP REPORT

MARCH, 1947

<i>Members</i>	<i>\$3.00</i>	<i>\$5.00</i>	<i>\$10.00</i>	<i>\$25.00</i>	<i>\$50.00</i>	<i>\$75.00</i>	<i>\$100.00</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Active:</i>								
First quarter	180	451	235	182	19	2	1	1,070
Second quarter	326	937	172	84	11	..	2	1,532
Third quarter	41	206	54	63	..	..	1	365
Fourth quarter	55	145	119	80	5	..	1	405
Total	602	1,739	580	409	35	2	5	3,372
<i>Delinquent:</i>								
First quarter	32	65	28	2	..	..	1	128
Second quarter	811	1,544	150	49	..	..	..	2,554
Fourth quarter	2	9	3	2	..	..	..	16
Total	845	1,618	181	53	..	..	1	2,698
Grand Total	1,447	3,357	761	462	35	2	6	6,070
<i>New:</i>								
First quarter	106	156	52	55	..	..	..	369

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted to approve the report of the Treasurer.

In the absence of the chairman, the Secretary presented the report of the Time and Place Committee. During the past four or five years the usual procedures of the Time and Place Committee have not been possible because of war conditions and the still difficult problems of securing adequate meeting places. At the meeting a year ago the Executive Committee instructed the Secretary to make tentative arrangements for the meetings for 1948, 1949, and 1950. The Time and Place Committee has reviewed the action taken by the Secretary under these instructions and heartily approves it. The meeting for 1948 will be held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, the week beginning April 17. Negotiations are still pending in the cities recommended for 1949 and 1950. Until the conclusion of these negotiations no announcement will be made.

The Executive Committee has reviewed this report of the Time and Place Committee and unanimously approves it.

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted to approve the report of the Time and Place Committee.

In the absence of the chairman, Robert P. Lane, Arch Mandel, a member of the committee, presented an interim report from the special committee appointed a year ago to prepare a revision of the Constitution and By-laws of the Conference. A draft of such a Constitution has been prepared and will be presented to the Conference membership later if the business session approves the line of procedure recommended by the committee. The report is as follows:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Conference held at Buffalo a year ago it was pointed out that the Constitution and By-laws of the Conference had not been revised as a whole since 1917. It had been amended many times to the point that a careful reading showed many contradictions and provisions that had long since outlived their usefulness. The Conference has greatly increased in membership and complexity of organization. The provisions of the present Constitution for carrying on the necessary affairs of the Conference are in many cases quite inefficient or inadequate in the light of present-day conditions. The Executive Committee, therefore, authorized the President to appoint a committee to revise the present Constitution to meet present-day needs. The following were appointed: Robert P. Lane, New York, chairman; Harry M. Carey, Boston; Elizabeth Cosgrove, Washington, D.C.; Rudolph T. Danstedt, St. Louis; and Arch Mandel, New York. Three meetings of the committee have been held.

After careful consideration of the present Constitution and By-laws, section by section, it was decided to propose a simple Constitution that would provide for governing the affairs of the Conference through effective committees and the reference of important questions of policy which involve amendments of the Constitution to the entire membership of the Conference by mail vote.

It was evident that to revise the present Constitution by the process of amending the present sections and provisions would be a futile and confusing procedure. Therefore, an entirely new Constitution has been drafted. In some instances it retains some of the wording of the present Constitution. However, the proposed

Constitution should be considered as a whole and compared with the present one as a whole rather than section by section.

In order that the proposed Constitution may be given consideration by the maximum number of Conference members, your committee suggests the following procedure:

1. That it be submitted to the Executive Committee for their consideration and modification if they see fit to do so
2. That as soon as it is approved by the Executive Committee, it be printed in the next issue of the Conference *Bulletin* and the comment of Conference members be invited
3. That as soon as sufficient time (perhaps sixty days) has elapsed for all Conference members who wish to do so, to comment, that the Executive Committee give careful consideration to such comments and make such modifications in the proposed Constitution as it deems wise in the light of the comments from the members
4. That the proposed Constitution then be submitted by mail vote to all members of the Conference and that a majority of valid votes be required for adoption. Your special committee feels strongly that the adoption of a new Constitution is a matter of sufficient importance to be placed before the maximum possible number of Conference members for their consideration and vote.

During the discussion from the floor it was pointed out that valuable suggestions might be secured by sending copies of the memorandum and the Constitution to the various area committees for their consideration and comment before being printed in the *Bulletin* for the consideration of all the membership of the Conference. It was agreed that this would be done.

The report of the Committee on Tellers, William J. Blackburn, of Columbus, Ohio, chairman, was called for and presented by the chairman as follows:

President: Leonard W. Mayo, Cleveland

First Vice President: Irene Farnham Conrad, Nashville, Tenn.

Second Vice President: Wayne McMillen, Chicago

Third Vice President: Neva R. Deardorff, New York

The candidates elected to the Executive Committee for a three-year term are: Frederick H. Allen, M.D., Philadelphia; Mary E. Austin, Washington, D.C.; Marion Hathway, Pittsburgh; Faith Jefferson Jones, Hampton, Va.; Russell H. Kurtz, Concord, N.H.; Malcolm S. Nichols, Boston; Margaret D. Yates, Dallas, Texas.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM J. BLACKBURN
Chairman, Committee on Tellers

The results of the Section elections were printed in the April, 1947, *Bulletin* and will be found in the Business Organization of the Conference—Appendix B—printed in the *Proceedings*.

It was announced that the Committee on Nominations would make its report at the Friday evening General Session.

There being no further business, upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted to adjourn.

Friday, April 18, 1947

The report of the Committee on Nominations was presented by Roy Sorenson in the absence of the chairman, Beth Muller, as follows:

President: Ralph H. Blanchard, Executive Director, Community Chests and Councils, New York; *First Vice President:* Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Associate Chief, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.; *Second Vice President:* Loula Dunn, Commissioner, Alabama Department of Public Welfare, Montgomery, Ala.; *Third Vice President:* Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Dean, School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

Members of the Executive Committee: Seven to be elected. Harriett M. Bartlett, Cambridge, Mass.; Chester L. Bower, Executive Secretary, Community Council, Houston, Texas; Frederick I. Daniels, Executive Director, Brooklyn Bureau of Social Service, Brooklyn, N.Y.; John B. Dawson, Executive Director, Community Chest of Philadelphia, Philadelphia; Florence R. Day, Director, Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass.; Myron Falk, Executive Director, Baton Rouge Community Chest and Council of Social Agencies, Baton Rouge, La.; A. A. Heckman, General Secretary, Family Service of St. Paul, St. Paul, Minn.; Beth Muller, Field Consultant in Child Welfare, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, Chicago; W. I. Newstetter, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh; Helen Rowe, Associate Director, Camp Fire Girls, New York; Howard L. Russell, Director, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago; Louis Towley, Associate Professor of Social Work, School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.; T. J. S. Waxter, Director, Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore; Ernest Witte, Chief of Social Service, Veteran's Administration, Branch 12, San Francisco

Members of the Committee on Nominations: Seven to be elected. Marylouise Allen, Case Supervisor, Provident Family and Children's Service, Kansas City, Mo.; Herschel Alt, Executive Director, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York; Philip Bernstein, Associate Director, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, New York; Robert B. Canary, Assistant Chief, Division of Social Administration, Ohio Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio; Almena Dawley, Associate Director, Child Guidance Clinic, Philadelphia; Charles F. Ernst, Director, Public Education Division, Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kans.; Arthur E. Fink, Director, School of Social Work, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.; Rev. Floyd F. Fischer, Executive Director, Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Omaha, Omaha, Nebr.; Ralph G. Hurlin, Director, Department of Statistics, Russell Sage Foundation, New York; Isabel P. Kennedy, Executive Secretary, Federation of Social Agencies of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, Pittsburgh; Mary S. Labaree, Assistant Director, Special Service Section, Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.; Clarence Pretzer, Director, Family Service Society of Metropolitan Detroit, Detroit; J. Caswell Smith, Jr., Executive Secretary, Urban League of Greater Boston, Boston; Marietta Stevenson, Professor and Director of Social Welfare Administration, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

Respectfully submitted,

BETH MULLER
Chairman, Committee on Nominations

The nominations for Section chairmen and Section committee members were published in the April *Bulletin*.

The Conference adjourned at 3:00 P.M., Saturday, April 19, 1947, to reassemble in Atlantic City, New Jersey, April 17 to 23, 1948. The final registration at the Seventy-fourth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was 4,335.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD R. KNIGHT
General Secretary

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